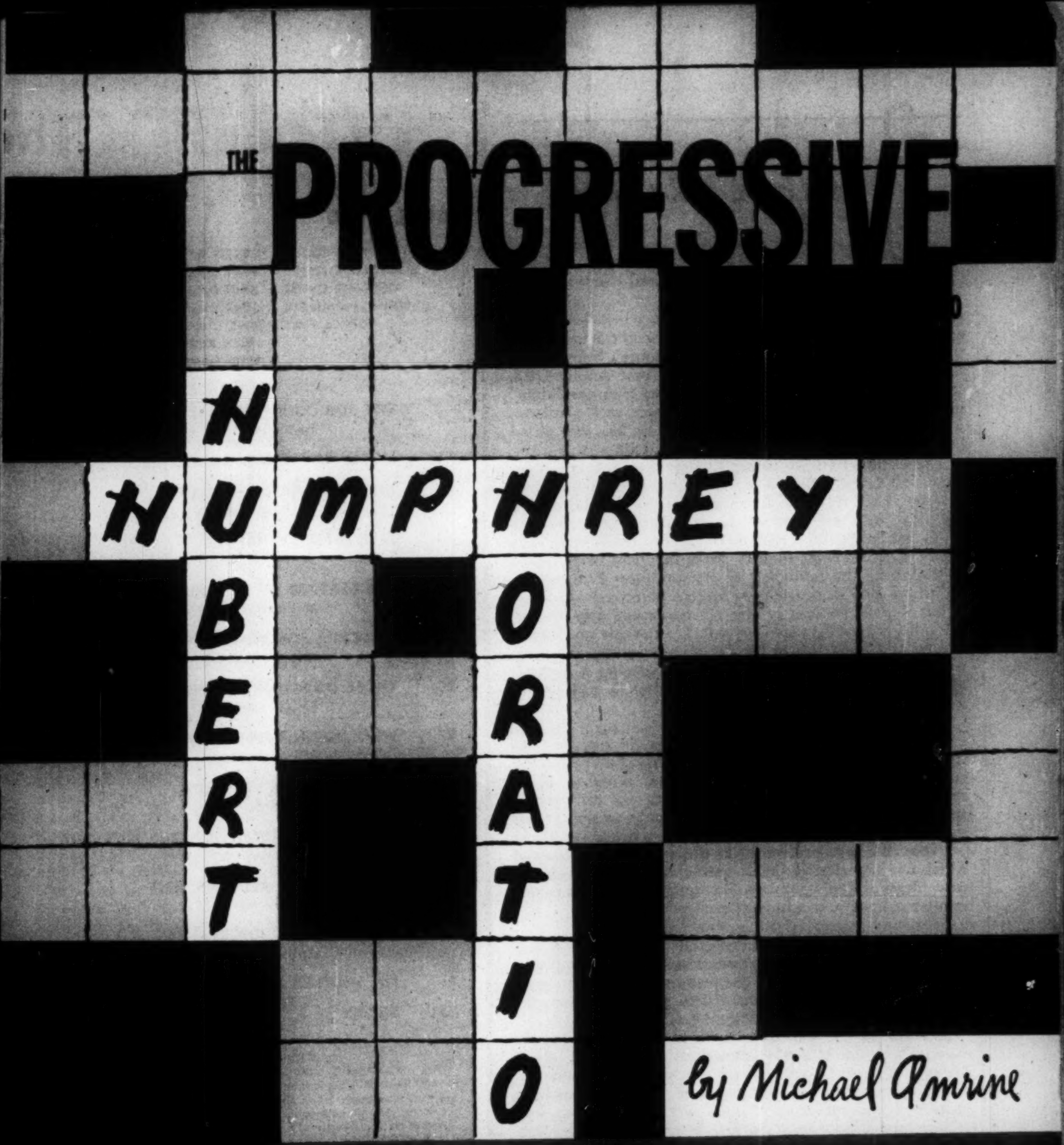
THE PROGRESSIVE


HUMPHREY
HUBERT
HORATIO
by Michael Amrine

THOSE DOUBTING ASIANS Helen Mears

IS EVERYBODY HAPPY? James A. Wechsler

THE AFFLUENCE PEDDLERS Margaret Halsey

Office memo

THE PROGRESSIVE's choice of Presidential candidates for its current series of profiles seems to have met with general agreement on the part of subscribers—with one exception. Frequently the mail has brought letters—like the sampling in this month's "The People's Forum," on Page 40—with a query that can be best summed up, "What about Chester Bowles?" No other "non-candidate" for the Presidential nomination has struck such a responsive chord among *Progressive* readers as has this gifted Democratic Congressman from Connecticut.

The Editors have no reason to alter their original judgment that Chester Bowles is not a candidate for President in 1960. They feel now as before that the possibility that his party will offer Bowles the nomination is so remote as to be negligible. Furthermore, Bowles himself has pretty well removed himself from the field of hopefuls by endorsing the candidacy of Senator John F. Kennedy, for whom Bowles is acting as foreign policy adviser.

But largely because of the persistence of our readers, the Editors have arranged to include an article on Chester Bowles as a postscript to the Presidential series. Washington correspondent Robert Riggs is preparing a portrait of this much-admired Connecticut Yankee. It will appear in our May issue.

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Few things are more welcome at *The Progressive* than thoughtful letters to the Editors. And no publication devotes more space to the comments and opinions of its readers than does *The Progressive*. But we still find it impossible to print more than a small cross section of our mail. We urge readers to write—but to write as briefly as possible. We give preference to observations on material which has appeared in the magazine, but we also welcome new ideas or fresh information which supplements our regular articles and editorials.

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Favorable response to our critical "The Truth About Nixon," by William V. Shannon has been so strong that we put the article back on the press, and it is now available as an eight-page reprint. Prices and instructions for ordering will be found on Page 44.

Another of the Presidential series which has proved especially popular is the thoughtful analysis of Adlai Stevenson by the late Senator Richard L. Neuberger, which appeared in the February issue. This, too, has been reprinted, and information on obtaining copies—as well as reprints of Stevenson's own "America's Broken Mainspring"—appears on Page 31.

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The Circulation Department has two urgent requests to make of subscribers:

- When entering a change of address, be sure to send the *old* address as well as the new.
- In all correspondence, include the postal zone number in addresses in the 105 cities which are now zoned.

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FOUNDED IN 1909 BY ROBERT M. LaFOLLETTE,

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THE PROGRESSIVE makes no attempt to exact complete conformity from its contributors, but rather welcomes a variety of opinions consistent with its general policies. Signed articles, therefore, do not necessarily represent the opinion of the management of the magazine.

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PROGRESSIVE

"YE SHALL KNOW THE TRUTH
AND THE TRUTH SHALL MAKE YOU FREE"

The Struggle for Civil Rights

WORLD HEADLINES were focused on two parallel events in the United States during the past month. Scene one was the South, where a spreading wave of student sit-in demonstrations marked a determined drive by restive Negro youth to speed the process of racial integration. Their efforts were characterized by a quiet persistence, simple dignity, nonviolence, courage, and religious fervor. Scene two was the United States Senate, where a raucous band of Southerners cynically tied that body in knots, resorted to foul language, and generally behaved, in the words of the Chicago *Tribune*, like "a small lunatic asylum" as it sought to smash every move to strengthen civil rights.

The epidemic of student sit-ins marked a significant development in the long and bitter struggle of the American Negro to shed the cloak of second-class citizenship. For this was essentially a *youth* movement, spontaneously formed, ably led, and shrewdly committed to that most powerful of weapons—Gandhian non-violence. Some of the protesting groups gathered first at their neighborhood churches, participated in prayer meetings, and then moved on to fight for freedom with Bibles in their hands and hymns in their hearts.

Representative of the mood and spirit of many of the student sit-ins were these instructions given students participating in a demonstration in Nashville:

¶ Don't strike back or curse back if abused.

¶ Don't hold conversations with store floor workers.

¶ Don't block entrances to the stores and aisles.

¶ Show yourself courteous and friendly at all times.

¶ Sit straight and always face the counter.

¶ Remember the teachings of Jesus Christ, Mohandas K. Gandhi, and Martin Luther King.

¶ Remember love and non-violence, may God bless each of you.

The movement began without fanfare in Greensboro, North Carolina, where a group of colored students unsuccessfully sought service at the lunch counter of a variety store. They quietly refused to leave. Their passive, sit-in technique soon spread into more than a score of communities of a half-dozen states in the South. It is clear from their conduct in almost every city where the technique has been tried that these Negro youths are prepared to face abuse, imprisonment, reprisals, and injury to express their peaceful protest against racial discrimination.

In some communities, the resistance movement has tentatively invoked the first forms of economic boycott, which could become a deadly instrument of reprisal against many of the merchants in the South. Estimates in many Southern cities place the proportion of Negro patronage in the five-and-ten-cent stores, which have been the principal targets of protest, at fifty per cent.

The force for reform generated by the militant, yet non-violent Negro students, represents far more than a collection of daily headlines. In a special report surveying the scope and significance of the snowballing sit-ins, the Southern Regional Council, distinguished for its thoughtful researches on race problems, concluded that the new movement demonstrates that the South "is in for a time of change, the terms of which cannot be dictated by white Southerners."

The deeper meaning of the sit-in demonstrations, the Council reported, "is to show that segregation cannot be maintained in the South, short of continuous coercion and the intolerable social order that would result." The white leadership, the report emphasized, "has hardly yet begun to conceive the dimensions of change, or to say publicly that the white people must learn to live with change and to acknowledge that the present problem is to reconcile the Negroes of the South to their communities on terms of dignity."

It is this lack of creative white leadership in the South that tragically bars the way to basic reform. There are countless white Southerners, in a variety of fields, who have counseled a course of lawful desegregation, but all too often their affirmative voices are unheard in the clamor of Southern politicians raised against any basic improvement, however moderate. The eighteen Southern Senators who conducted the shameful filibuster speak for the worst in the South on this issue, no matter how moderate or progressive some of them may be in other areas of political decision.

* * *

The conduct of these Senators is emulated throughout the South by the army of little politicians who control the city halls and the county courthouses. The result is an ever-tightening ring of resistance against reform. There have been some hopeful developments. *The Progressive* is always happy when it is able to report progress, however modest, in the field of desegregation, and it does so again, in surveying a few pockets of school integration, in the "Notes in the News" department in this issue. But the hopeful pickings are pitifully slim, and slimmest of all in the area most hotly debated in the current civil rights struggle in Congress.

Three years ago Congress passed the first civil rights law of any consequence in eighty-two years. That act created a Civil Rights Commission with modest authority to investigate and act on the denial of voting rights to qualified citizens. President Eisenhower appointed three distinguished

Southerners to the six-man Commission—John Battle, former governor of Virginia; Robert Storey, dean of the Southern Methodist Law School, and Doyle Carlton, former governor of Florida. They, and the three Northerners, including Father Theodore Hesburgh, president of the University of Notre Dame, conducted a painstaking survey of voting rights in areas of the South—often hampered by the relentless opposition of state and local authorities.

The Commission found *unanimously*—all three Southerners concurring—that "many Americans, even today, are denied the franchise because of race [in direct violation of the Constitution]. This is accomplished through the creation of local impediments, administrative obstacles, and positive discouragement engendered by fears of economic reprisal and physical harm."

The Commission documented its conclusions with a devastating array of uncontested facts, some of which are these:

¶ In fourteen Mississippi counties with a total 1950 population of about 230,000, of whom 109,000 were Negroes, there was not a single Negro registered.

¶ In three counties of Florida with 3,000 voters of Negro age, there were no Negro voters.

¶ In six counties of Georgia with 3,000 Negroes of voting age there were no Negro voters.

¶ In four parishes of Louisiana with an adult Negro population of 20,000 there were no Negro voters.

¶ In two counties of Alabama with an adult Negro population of 15,000 there were no Negro voters.

¶ In Haywood County, Tennessee, no Negro has been permitted to vote for fifty years despite the fact that Negroes own more land and pay more taxes than white persons in that county.

¶ Florida has a better record of allowing Negroes to vote than many of her neighbors, but the Commission found that although nearly 11,000 Negroes of voting age live in Gadsen County, only six were registered. There are nearly 300 Negro teachers in the county but almost none registered. A Negro minister who suggested from the pulpit that his congregation should register and vote was denied a bank loan. A minister's wife lost her county school teaching job because she stressed voting and other constitutional rights in her course in civics.

¶ In Leflore County, Mississippi, when a Negro veteran tried to register, the clerk had him write his name and address on a piece of paper. Soon after he returned home two white men called to ask him why he had tried to register. "It's my duty," the veteran replied. They accused him of trying to stir up trouble, warned him not to make another attempt. He did not, for fear of reprisals.

¶ In Mississippi's Forrest County, a pastor with two degrees from Columbia University was accused of being a Communist when he tried to register—solely because he admitted membership in the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. One Negro citizen tried sixteen times—twice a year for eight years—to register, but he was unsuccessful.

¶ Testimony before the Civil Rights Commission revealed that Negroes who try to register in Fayette County, Tennessee, are soon discharged from their jobs and ordered out of their rented homes. There was testimony that they are arrested by the police, and that severe fines are imposed upon them for minor charges. They are denied credit. Their wages are garnisheed. Their applications for GI loans are turned down.

¶ In Macon County, Alabama, William P. Mitchell, chairman of the Tuskegee Civic Association, was required to make three visits to the board of registrars, two appearances before a federal trial court, two appeals to the fifth circuit court, and one petition to the United States Supreme Court, before being admitted as a registered voter. All this took three years.

¶ In the same county, Negroes have brought numerous court actions to achieve registration. After one such suit, in 1946, the board of registrars resigned and ceased to function for eighteen months. Subsequently, a new board was formed, but its existence and location were concealed from Negro applicants for four months. On the date on which the location of the new board became publicly known, eighteen Negroes applied for registration. But the board took no action on these applications; it merely ceased to function publicly for another eight months. Again in 1956, when Negroes sought to register, the board became inoperative for another sixteen months.

¶ In Wilcox County, Alabama, a witness testified that "over the past five years, we've had over 800 Negroes go to the board of registrars to get registered. I know some who have applied thirty times and, to the best of my knowledge, we haven't had more than two Negroes qualify and receive their certificate of registration."

¶ In Lowndes County, Alabama, Negro retail merchants who tried to register were refused service and deliveries by white wholesalers. The county has 15,000 Negroes but not a single Negro voter. The Civil Rights Commission lists the following reasons why no Negro has even attempted to register in the county for several years: fear of physical harm, fear of economic pressure, threats to call loans, failure to grant loans, and fear of loss of jobs—especially among school teachers.

¶ A not untypical case in Washington Parish, Louisiana, involved Mrs. Ethel A. Smith, a Negro teacher. Mrs. Smith registered to vote. The registration form required a careful statement of her age. She wrote: "I am now sixty-nine years, eight months, ten days old." She was challenged and her name stricken from the voting register. Her offense was that she had misstated her age by one day. She was really sixty-nine years, eight months, nine days old.

* * *

Although these and comparable findings were presented as undisputed evidence by even so conservative a Southerner as Virginia's former Governor Battle, Senate spokesmen for the South had the effrontery to characterize the report as a Soviet creation! Senator James O. Eastland of Mississippi dismissed the report as "mutterings from Moscow." Senator Strom Thurmond of South Carolina branded the observations by Father Hesburgh as "Marxist philosophy," and Senator Herman Talmadge of Georgia cried out with a straight face that the Commission's finding were "the antithesis of everything for which we Americans claim to stand."

This is the kind of shabby opposition against which the forces for civil rights must contend. This is the kind of Southern leadership that held the United States Senate helpless for weeks as it dismissed the uncontested findings of a commission of distinguished Americans appointed by President Eisenhower as mutterings from Moscow, and resorted to the language of the gutter to vilify the United States Supreme Court.

Few issues confronting this session of Congress carry so great a challenge to advance our well-being at home and our stature abroad as the issue of civil rights. The whole world—a majority of whose inhabitants are colored—is watching the historic struggle for freedom within the nation that purports to lead the rest of the world in its struggle for freedom.

Congress was still locked in bitter debate when this issue of *The Progressive* went to press. There were disturbing signs that a weasling compromise might be in the making. It would be nothing less than a bitter tragedy at home and a crushing setback in world opinion if Congress stops short of a measure which not only goes far toward enforcing basic voting rights for Negroes, but also fortifies Supreme Court decisions in other critical areas of racial discrimination, notably the field of education.

NOTES in the NEWS

Richard L. Neuberger

The sudden death of Senator Richard L. Neuberger has deprived the nation of one of its most thoughtful political figures and *The Progressive* of one of its most valued contributors. He had survived a long and painful siege of cancer little more than a year ago, only to be stricken down without warning by a cerebral hemorrhage at the age of forty-seven.

Dick Neuberger fought ably on important fronts during his five years in the Senate—and for many years before that as one of the nation's most competent and respected journalists. He was a dedicated liberal but not a fiery crusader. His capacity to see and understand the other side's point of view prevented him from being a doctrinaire partisan on many issues.

His extraordinary usefulness showed up in his persistent struggle for conservation, the development of power resources, the preservation of our scenic beauty, the reform of our election laws, and the expansion of public health programs. His great love for the everlasting beauty of rivers, forests, mountains, and valleys found eloquent expression in much that he wrote and talked about on the political stump.

We of *The Progressive* knew him well and appreciated his many gifts. He wrote more than a hundred articles for us during the past two decades. His talents were such that he could command handsome fees in the magazine market, but he responded cheerfully on every occasion on which we asked him to do an article for *The Progressive,* although we could pay but a pittance—and sometimes, when there was little, if anything, in the bank, nothing. He believed in what *The Progressive* was trying to do. That was enough. We believed in Dick Neuberger and what he was trying to do. We shall miss him greatly.

Morris Llewellyn Cooke

Death called last month on another great conservationist and advocate of public power development. To the younger generation his name will mean little, but Morris Llewellyn Cooke contributed prodigiously to the philosophy and works of the New Deal. He served with distinction in many reform movements, pioneered in the development of public power, and played a distinguished role in the formulation of the TVA concept.

Morris L. Cooke combined a rare genius in engineering with boundless idealism directed at man's capacity to harness the resources of nature for the greater good of all mankind. Our national difficulty today is that we have many gifted engineers, but pitifully few with Morris Cooke's vision, idealism, and devotion to the public welfare.

Old Soldiers Never Cease Talking

Many Americans of good will and peaceful purpose have grave doubts that the May conference at the summit will yield a great harvest of improvement in East-West relations, but they are convinced it is worth a try, considering the enormous stakes. Two Americans who do not share this mood of part doubt and part hope are former President Harry S. Truman and the man who made foreign policy for him, former Secretary of State Dean Acheson. They have no doubts; they are cocksure that the sessions at the summit will fail, and they are saying so every chance they get.

These two old soldiers of the cold war never seem friskier than when they are deriding the prospect of negotiating settlements with the Soviets. They appear determined not to let us feel the loss of the late John Foster Dulles too keenly, for what they say so often parallels the sterile, negative approach to foreign policy that dominated the thinking of President Eisenhower's late Secretary of State.

Thus, Acheson recently composed an essay for distribution through the North American Newspaper Alliance which reaffirmed his counsel of despair—to negotiate with the Soviets is to surrender to them and anything that seems like a Kremlin concession is bound to be a snare. The true wisdom in world affairs, he insisted, is to be found in West German Chancellor Konrad Adenauer's total rejection of any accommodation with the Soviets—except one in which all our terms would prevail and all of Russia's would be refused.

Harry Truman was quick to join up again with his former Secretary of State. In a recent interview in Miami, the former President argued that there was no use in summit talks with the Russians.

"The Russians don't want to agree with anyone," he said. "The only language the Russians understand is that your fist is bigger than mine."

It is quite conceivable, of course, that Truman and Acheson are right, that nothing can be expected from renewed negotiations with the Soviets. But considering the catastrophic perils of the nuclear arms race, certainly no one but men who have not had a fresh idea in a decade can inveigh against making the effort. President Eisenhower, for all his faults, is determined to seek peace wherever possible. So are the younger men of the Democratic Party's leadership. Happily, Truman and Acheson command less and less attention as they go on crying defiance to a world of change.

Cocking the Nuclear Trigger

President Eisenhower threw a chill into the hearts of a great many of his countrymen when he recently recommended that we give or sell nuclear armaments to any and all "countries we are confident . . . would stand by us . . . in time of trouble." Following closely, as it did, the worldwide disappointment over Charles De Gaulle's policy of stubbornly elbowing France into the nuclear club, the President's proposal to arm our allies with nuclear weapons was a crushing blow to rising hopes for a nuclear test ban agreement and, ultimately, general disarmament.

Perhaps the President spoke without adequate consideration of the possible consequences. Perhaps on second thought he will not pursue what may have been an off-the-cuff press conference suggestion. We hope he won't because there are perilous implications in such a move, as James P. Warburg, one of our ablest analysts of foreign affairs, has so clearly emphasized.

"This seems a very strange proposal," Mr. Warburg wrote, "especially as it comes at a time when we are supposedly anxious to reach an agreement banning nuclear test explosions, not only to protect humanity against fallout but precisely in order to prevent the acquisition of nuclear weapons by nations which do not already possess them.

"Surely the President knows that once nuclear weapons come into the hands of a multitude of national governments, effectively controlled universal disarmament will become infinitely more difficult."

Furthermore, Warburg continued, ". . . any nation which has a mutual defense treaty with the United States would, according to the President's words, be entitled to conclude, if it did not receive modern weapons including nuclear warheads, that the United States did not consider it a trustworthy ally.

"Thus, if carried out, the President's proposal would result either in the nuclear arming of all of our forty-odd allies, or else in the disaffection and probable loss of a considerable number of them."

The President's proposal is equally disturbing on somewhat different grounds. Only last June, when the Administration filed with Congress a number of so-called nuclear-sharing agreements with certain of our allies, it asserted unequivocally that the nuclear warheads would at all times remain under United States control. Without this assurance, Congress would almost certainly have rejected the agreements.

"What is happening," Warburg concluded, "is that we are being led, step by irreversible step, into a position in which the future of the United States and of all mankind will rest in the hands of an unpredictable number of foreign political or military leaders, any one of whom will be in a position to trigger an atomic holocaust.

Fraud Is Out of Fashion

As unlikely as it may seem to cynical television viewers, there is a growing possibility that at least some and perhaps even a good deal of the advertising presented on the airwaves in the future will not only be reasonably truthful but relatively inoffensive. There are already enough specific examples either on the screen or in preparation to warrant cautious optimism that advertisers might clean up the mess they have made of advertising, on television in particular but in other media as well.

¶ Bufferin will soon drop the repulsive mechanistic digestive tract featured in its TV commercials.

¶ Ban, the deodorant, plans to eliminate "most of the references to odor" in its advertisements.

¶ Cigarettes have abandoned tar and nicotine in their filter ballyhoo.

¶ In Chicago, two radio stations dropped laxative commercials which offended listeners.

¶ Westinghouse has ruled that claims for its products must reflect average rather than maximum or exaggerated performance.

¶ *Good Housekeeping* magazine reports "a number of leading national advertisers have submitted their TV commercials to us for review," and for *Good Housekeeping's* respected "Seal of Approval."

If this heartening development actually materializes on any appreciable scale, two important factors will have been responsible.

The first is what the chairman of the Association of National Advertisers calls a "crisis in confidence" in advertising on the part of the public. The crisis has been brought on by the rigged quiz shows and payola scandals, the competition in claims of rival products to the point of absurdity, and the increasing offensiveness and poor taste in the advertising of items of a personal nature.

The second, and perhaps even more important factor, is the increasingly tough-minded drive of the Federal Trade Commission against misleading or fraudulent advertising. When Earl W. Kintner, the soft-spoken head of FTC, predicts, "In the next year I think you'll see a lot of improvement in the quality of advertising," his words are as much a warning to admen as they are a hopeful forecast for consumers.

A part of the clean-up in process represents a voluntary campaign, the result of anxiety among corporate officials and responsible advertising agencies over their reputations with an indignant and rebellious public. But much of the improvement is the direct result of appeals and threats of legal action against deceptive advertising by the Federal Trade Commission, and widespread publicity about the FTC's activities.

Not all advertisers, by any means, are changing their approach. And how long the reform is likely to last or how deep it may penetrate might be measured by the comment of a Madison Avenue executive who said, bluntly, "We're changing nothing. We're clean—and besides, the public has a short memory." This is the attitude of only a minority of advertising men at the moment, but if the history of the past holds any lessons for the future, the spirit of unleashed *caveat emptor* could easily recapture Madison Avenue.

Unhappily, much of the advertising

industry seems to view truth in advertising much as it would view the changing styles in the length of women's skirts—up one year, down the next, the only concern being which sells best. One advertising man, whose approach has shifted to a stress on humor, succinctly summed up this amoral attitude when he said, "Since fraud in advertising doesn't seem to be fashionable any more, some agencies feel they should entertain the consumer instead of lying to him."

It is quite possible that we are in for a season of truth and humor, but it will take continuing vigilance to keep the style from swinging back. The present trend toward truth in advertising is encouraging, but we would feel more confident for the future if we could be sure that the FTC would continue—and better still, strengthen—its drive to police advertising on behalf of honesty and the public interest.

Shooting from the Hip

Two events during the past month illustrate how American officials with a tendency to talk before the facts are at hand are giving the Communists a great deal of extra propaganda mileage out of some of the Communists' activities.

When the Russians shot their rocket into the Pacific, a "high official" of our government rushed into print with the sneering report that they had missed their target by "several hundred miles." Non-Communist papers in Europe and Asia splashed the American report on their front pages and Britain's BBC beamed it around the world. It soon became clear, however, that the Soviets had delivered their rocket to a point a mile and a quarter from the bull's-eye in the Pacific 7,760 miles from the point it had been fired—an extraordinary performance.

The result: correspondent William M. Stoneman cabled the Chicago *Daily News* from London that when "it was subsequently indicated that the Russians had been right on the beam, public reaction to the feat was not only particularly strong in favor of the Russians, but also critical of the United States for pooh-poohing them."

Another example of premature and costly scoffing concerns the Communist program to persuade Koreans living in Japan to go to Communist North Korea. Under the supervision of the International Red Cross, the government of Japan opened registration offices around the country. During the first month only 100 Koreans registered to go to North Korea.

"We knew this would happen," American offficals jeered to the Japanese press. "No more than 200 will ever accept the Red invitation."

But U.S. intelligence was remarkably ill-informed. It did not seem to know that the Communists had called a boycott on registration offices because they rejected rules set up for screening applicants. When the rules were changed, 5,300 Koreans registered immediately. American officials were suddenly silent. But then the registrations stopped.

"That's it," chortled U.S. authorities in Japan. "That's the whole of it."

A few days later there was a new burst of registrations as 5,000 more Koreans signed up to go to Red Korea. It turned out that the Communists were controlling and budgeting registrations to fit their shipping and other facilities. Well-informed Japanese are convinced there will be a constant regulated stream of repatriates to Communist Korea throughout the year.

There is much to brood about in this accelerating exodus to Red Korea, but our concern here is for the self-defeating practice of American officials to shoot from the hip without aim or ammunition. It seems inconceivable that our authorities could be so poorly informed. It seems even more incredible that they fail to realize, after bitter experience, that by belittling Communist achievements, before they have the facts, they are playing squarely into Communist hands.

How To Win Friends

The frenetic drive of the United States to ring the U.S.S.R. with air bases has frequently led to strained relations with the very countries in which these bases are located. To many of the peoples of the host countries, the presence of the U.S. Air Force is simply a form of occupation, resentfully tolerated because of economic or military necessity. And only rarely has the United States handled the "Yankee, Go Home" reaction with sufficient care and tact to check the tide of bitterness.

In this depressing atmosphere, the decision by the United States to bow to the wishes of Morocco and abandon its air bases in that country comes as a welcome variation.

The bases originated in 1950 when Morocco was a colony of France. When the Moroccans gained their independence a few years ago, they politely invited the United States Air Force to depart. The United States responded by negotiating an orderly withdrawal agreement which will leave Morocco free of foreign troops by 1963.

"It is the first time in the history of the Twentieth Century," said Morocco's Crown Prince Moulay Hassan enthusiastically, "and particularly in the history of a Moslem, an Arab, and a newly independent state, that pending problems have been solved so satisfactorily. . . . The character of this settlement was not only peaceful but friendly."

We feel confident that the United States has gained more in good will throughout the world, and especially among Africans and Arabs, than it could possibly have lost in military advantage, by relinquishing its air bases in Morocco with such ease and grace.

No News Is Good News

There aren't many news stories these days—and fewer bold headlines—about school integration in Virginia. But things are happening there, and the situation is moderately brighter than it was when the state's schools made the front page daily.

Eighteen months ago, the future of integrated public education in Virginia looked bleak indeed. Thirteen thousand children in three heavily populated counties were locked out of their schools, closed under the state's massive resistance laws. Even the Virginia Association of School Administrators, composed largely of school superintendents, bowed to the political pressures of the time and refused to pass a resolution which would have merely put them on record as being "gravely concerned" by the closing of public schools.

Today, massive resistance is dead,

laid low by the federal courts. In only one of the smaller counties in Virginia are school doors still closed, and even there official obstinance is gradually wilting. In other parts of the state Negro children are entering previously all white schools without fanfare. More than a thousand Negro children are now in integrated schools, and the number slowly but steadily grows. A year after refusing to buck massive resistance, the state's school superintendents have now quietly and unanimously gone on record backing "a sound system of free public schools."

The court decision abolishing the massive resistance laws was the major factor in changing Virginia's integrated education climate. But massive resistance to the point of closing schools was much more popular with politicians than with parents and teachers. In 1958, when the school superintendents were afraid to speak out, Virginia's school teachers, by a ratio of nineteen to one, expressed grave concern over the closing of schools, and urged the governor and the state assembly to enact legislation which would reopen them with state support. The Norfolk *Virginian-Pilot* praised their action as "a bright spot in an otherwise dark and almost incredibly stupid chapter of Virginia government."

Parents, too, through PTA's and other less organized efforts, made it clear that the political leadership had less than enthusiastic backing.

It may be a long time before complete integration is accomplished in Virginia, but the signs indicate that it will happen—quietly.

And in Colleges

If developments in public school integration offer hope for the future, the progress in the South at the college level is even more striking. A Washington (D.C.) *Star* correspondent, George W. Oakes, in a roundup of the current status of integration in higher education based on information gathered by the Southern Regional Council and *Southern School News*, reports that "half of all Southern white colleges are integrated, a remarkable increase since 1948 when desegregation extended to less than twenty border state institutions." The surveys disclosed that:

¶ More than 250 public and private Southern colleges admit Negro students.

¶ Catholic institutions are eighty per cent desegregated, public colleges fifty-two per cent, and lay private schools twenty-six per cent.

¶ There has been less difficulty in social relations than was expected. At many schools, Negroes live in dormitories with whites, and in at least two have been elected president of the dormitory.

¶ Negro students have "shared freely in social affairs such as picnics, dinners, and dances."

It is only fair to point out that while this is a heartening progress report, there are many dark shadows in the picture.

¶ In four states in the deep South, strict segregation of all public and most private institutions is still in force.

¶ Only 3,000 or so Negro students —perhaps two per cent of the total student body—attend integrated colleges. Much integration is still token.

But while these shadows must be erased, the picture is undeniably brighter year by year, and the lack of headlines on integration in higher education, as in the public schools, should not blind us to the genuine progress that is quietly being achieved.

In the North, Too

In New York City, only six months ago, the integration of five city schools brought on a roar of protest and a boycott by several hundred white parents and students. The air was charged with fear and anger. Now, at the beginning of the current semester, more than 300 Negro students were transferred out of overcrowded Harlem schools to predominantly white schools elsewhere. There was scarcely a ripple of attention.

The AMA's Worn Out Brick

"The genius who coined the term 'socialized medicine' but neglected to define it," says the Detroit *News*, "gave the medical profession a handy brick to heave at anyone or anything that threatens to upset the status quo as set down by the American Medical Association."

The current target for the AMA's time-worn brick is legislation now pending before Congress which would provide insurance against hospital and surgical expenses for older persons under the Social Security program. Congressman Aime J. Forand, Rhode Island Democrat and author of the bill, described it in detail in last month's issue of *The Progressive*. He also outlined the AMA's opposition, most of which is the old familiar cry of "socialism."

Now, the AFL-CIO has dug into the AMA's record on past legislation, and its findings may shed some light on the AMA's definition—if it has one—of socialism.

A generation ago, the AMA opposed reporting tuberculosis cases to a public authority (a practice which is the foundation of all TB control). It opposed the National Tuberculosis Act (which Congress passed unanimously). Since then the AMA has fought against compulsory vaccination for smallpox; immunization against diphtheria and other preventive measures by public health agencies; federal aid to reduce infant and maternal deaths; the Social Security Act; old age and unemployment insurance ("a step toward Communism"); public venereal disease clinics; free diagnostic centers for TB and cancer; the Red Cross blood banks; federal aid to medical education (favored by medical school deans, the American Hospital Association, the American Dental Association, and most public health administrators); *voluntary* health insurance ("inciting to revolution"); Blue Cross ("a half-baked scheme"); school health services; federal aid to public health; and government medical care for dependents of men in the armed forces ("harmful to national defense").

In citing the Detroit *News'* irritation at the latest AMA broadside, Representative John D. Dingell of Michigan pointed out, "Everything that the AMA has ever opposed is catalogued as 'socialism,' or 'socialized medicine'."

There is hope this year that Congress will turn its back on the wolf-cries of the AMA and decide the fate of the Forand bill on its merits. There seems less hope that the AMA will recognize the decreasing effect of its empty epithets and allow itself to be carried, even kicking and screaming, into the Twentieth Century.

HUBERT HORATIO HUMPHREY

by MICHAEL AMRINE

This is the seventh of a series of articles exploring Presidential possibilities for 1960. Mr. Amrine, Washington correspondent, novelist, and editor for the American Psychological Association, is the author of a newly published book, This is Hubert Humphrey.
—The Editors.

One morning recently a visitor called to confer with Senator Hubert H. Humphrey in the Senate Office Building. "You just missed him," a secretary said. "He has taken a plane to Minnesota to speak to 30,000 farmers this afternoon." The visitor demurred. "He *must* be in Washington; he is scheduled to be at the Democratic Advisory Committee meeting here tonight."

"Yes," was the answer. "He'll be back in time for the meeting."

"What a hard day this will be for him."

"Not at all, this is a restful day for the Senator—all that time on the plane. He likes flying days—no telephones, no interruptions, a chance to read reports, write letters, catch up on his sleep. He'll be in the office tomorrow with seven new ideas."

This, indeed, was not a typical day for the bustling bundle of energy that is Senator Humphrey. At forty-eight he is more than ever a man of boundless vitality whose love of action is matched only by his passion for talk. Humphrey was clocked a while ago on a more typical day by Rowland Evans, Jr., a Washington correspondent for the New York *Herald Tribune*. Here is how that day went.

Humphrey rose at 6:45 a.m., his usual hour, helped one of his four children with homework, and hurried from his suburban home into town in his 1955 Cadillac to breakfast with Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt, Edward R. Murrow, and a host of other panelists attending an Exchange of Persons conference.

As it turned out, the Senator was delayed by so many early morning telephone calls at home he arrived at the conference after the breakfast dishes had been cleared away, and ate nothing at all. The conference lasted until 11:45.

At noon, the Senator moved onto the floor of the Senate and introduced four bills. The bills proposed setting up a Youth Conservation Corps, liberalizing the passport laws, enacting a "food for peace" program, and outlawing certain kinds of water pollution. He also made brief speeches in behalf of civil rights and in opposition to President Eisenhower's farm proposals.

Humphrey then gobbled a sandwich and a glass of milk. During the afternoon, he conferred hurriedly, always running late, with his staff experts on the Disarmament Subcommittee, of which he is chairman, a Government Operations Subcommittee, which he also heads, and the Senate Agriculture Committee, of which he is a member. He kept appointments with Kirby Ramsdell, chief editorial writer of the Los Angeles *Times,* who wanted to interview him, and attorney Pat O'Connor, a prominent citizen of Minneapolis.

At 5:30 p.m., he was scheduled to go to a television network studio to do a special program for the Institute of International Education, but he arrived half an hour late. From 6:45 to 7:45 he shook hands with the auxiliaries of the American Legion and the Veterans of Foreign Wars at a downtown reception.

He then dashed home in his car, collected his wife, Muriel, and his dinner jacket, and rushed back to a private club in town for a dinner given by Doris Fleeson and her husband, Dan Kimball, for Senator Clair Engle. He arrived very late, was called away from the table by an urgent telephone call, and again missed some of his meal.

"I can't keep a tight schedule," Humphrey has said. "Each day is a day unto itself and we live each day that way." He got home late, but early enough to assure his normal five to six hours of sleep.

* * *

One might suspect from the killing, endlessly varied schedule of a typical day that Humphrey spreads himself too thin. But those who have watched him at close range for more than a decade—both his Senate colleagues and the hard-bitten Washington correspondents—have acquired a deep respect for his enormous capacity to master a vast variety of subjects and to discuss them ably, persuasively, sometimes brilliantly.

"I did not become a United States Senator to make myself the nation's leading expert on the boll weevil," is the way Humphrey expresses his disdain for the kind of legislator who emphasizes one or two narrow specialties of peculiar concern to his own state and fails to do his homework on major national and international issues.

During his historic eight-hour talk in December, 1958, with another energetic, self-made, talkative, competitive politician, Nikita Khrushchev, Humphrey was especially impressed to find that the Russian leader "is interested in practically everything, as a good politician should be." Humphrey himself has shown not only a zealous concern for the special needs of his own Minnesota, but his major speeches and legislation have ranged over civil rights, social security, housing, agriculture, conservation, education, taxation, public health, labor-management relations, and foreign affairs in general, and disarmament, the Middle East, and foreign economic aid in particular.

Humphrey's interests—and talents—cover virtually every field in which the President of the United States must lead. What kind of President would he make?

Humphrey Personifies Tradition of Mid-Western Liberalism

Many liberals agree with Eleanor Roosevelt that he has a "spark of greatness," and with Reinhold Niebuhr who said: "The Senator knows more about foreign policy than any of the other 'front runners'."

Max Lerner, the New York *Post* columnist, puts it this way: "He has all along been one of the four major contenders among the Democrats . . . Of the four, he is the one who strikes me as having, to the highest degree, the requisite qualities to make a good President, perhaps a great one. There is no one on the horizon who can match him in his courage and his commitment to a liberal democracy, along with experience, ability, and a remarkable growth in maturity."

David Demarest Lloyd, writing in *The Reporter,* has said Humphrey is "personally bright, witty, and charming . . . has the common touch . . . the party's most accomplished extemporaneous speaker . . ." Rowland Evans, Jr., wrote in the *Herald Tribune,* "Humphrey's mind is endlessly flexible and absorbent, his knowledge of affairs is little short of staggering and his approach to the great unsolved political questions is on the whole original and imaginative." *Newsweek* reported, "To the handful of top-ranking officials in Washington who make the real decisions of foreign policy, few voices in the U.S. Senate carry greater authority . . . Humphrey is a member of the select inner group that really runs the Senate . . ." Douglass Cater, in *The Reporter,* wrote, "The extemporaneous Humphrey reveals awesome mental faculties. He shows a real mastery over the vast masses of technical information that enshroud most problems ranging from farm parity to foreign policy." These remarks indicate how far he has come since his first days in the Senate when Rufus Jarman, in the *Saturday Evening Post,* summed him up as "brassy, bouncy, and irrepressible."

Among his critics you may hear that he talks too much or too glibly, that he is too ambitious, a one-man band, and not a team player. Sometimes a person who is favorably impressed by his energy and originality will say with a shake of the head, "But he isn't an administrator, and that's what you need in the White House."

From the Right you may hear that "he has slowed down some, but he is still liable to go off alone on a radical tangent—a dangerous man to have in the Presidency." From the liberals' Left end you may hear that "he used to be a fighting liberal, but he has settled down, much like the rest of them."

His admirers never compare him to anyone mediocre. They say he is an original, and not a copy of anyone else. And they insist he has "learned and adapted and matured from experience." They also compare him to former American leaders. To most of them Humphrey is spiritually in the tradition of the Middle Western liberalism that produced the LaFollettes, George W. Norris, William Allen White, and many others.

His supporters believe he has the basic liberalism and human sympathy of Franklin D. Roosevelt. His political ideas and methods, and certain mercurial personal qualities, often remind people of F.D.R. Some consider that he also has some of F.D.R.'s faults, such as seeming to agree with everyone who calls on him, and having a certain lofty detachment when it comes to tedious organization details.

Humphrey, to many observers, dashes from one event or one phase of thought to another without having a basic program in the back of his mind, much as Roosevelt was said to have done. Friends and foes of F.D.R. agree that he loved to manipulate people. Humphrey has sudden inspirations about how to deal with some problem or clashing groups of persons, but he does not spend much time deciding precisely how everyone must be manipulated. "Perhaps sometimes he should be," insists a lifelong friend of Humphrey, "but he is never calculating."

Humphrey has also been compared to the late Fiorello LaGuardia, the great, fiery mayor of New York City. Like LaGuardia, Humphrey, as mayor of Minneapolis, loved to race around his city, and he took an interest in everything from hospitals to libraries to zoning laws. It has taken him years to acquire a sense of dignity, and sometimes he still behaves clownishly. However, both LaGuardia and Humphrey spent years of their lives studying government. There is nothing amateurish in their mayoralty records: they were professionals from the day they started.

It is nearly twenty years since a newspaperman in Minneapolis wrote about the young man he had just met—a professor of political science who was running for mayor:

"He seems to be a wonderful and meteoric young man . . . bouncy and gay, built on springs, with a clear-cut fierce face and a pleasant young grin. He puts firecrackers under everything.

"He is a strange combination of good sense, political erudition, imagination and enthusiasm. His enthusiasm is real and springs from true power."

This still seems an accurate description of the man today, and while his enthusiasm has been moderated by maturity, he continues to believe that Americans and the democratic system can find a way to overcome almost any obstacle.

"He doesn't have to describe the American dream, although he can do so in the best tradition of the Fourth of July," said one admirer. "He *is* the American dream; he has lived it."

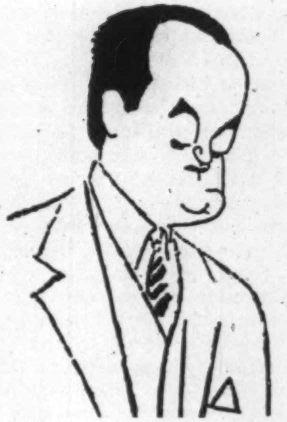
If Hollywood were inventing an all-American candidate, said another, he would be like Humphrey of South Dakota and Minnesota: a big man with a good speaking voice and a fair-sized family (three boys and a girl) . . . a small-town background (make it the Middle West) . . . a good education (Phi Beta Kappa) . . . a background near the soil . . . and an ability to get along with labor and with business. Naturally you give him an eloquence that can sway a crowd—or even stampede a convention . . .

But this scenario doesn't quite explain how a pharmacist, rolling pills and dishing up bowls of chili in his dad's drugstore in Huron, South Dakota, became in three years a teacher of political science, in another five years mayor of one of the larger American cities, then a U.S. Senator, and now a candidate for President.

The Roots of Humphrey's Dedication to Liberalism

Until he left high school, Humphrey, who was born in Wallace, South Dakota, spent most of his life in the town of Doland, S. D.—population: 500. Hubert's father, Hubert Horatio Humphrey, Sr., was the village druggist and the unofficial mayor. Later he became the official mayor of Huron, S.D., population: about 8,000, where the Humphrey family moved in the depths of the depression. Young Hubert and his brother Ralph, who still manages the family drugstore, grew up behind the counter. Like most small-town retailers, the Humphreys accepted as normal a work day which ran from eight in the morning until ten at night. This practice and the tradition of hard work inherited from his Norwegian mother seem to have ingrained permanently into Humphrey the idea that suppertime merely marks the beginning of the second half of a working day.

In Doland the Humphreys had a rough time through the Twenties and Thirties and overcame their difficulties only through super-salesmanship. The family made its own basic preparations in the way of laxatives and headache and sore throat remedies—one still fondly remembered in South Dakota as "Humphrey's Chest Oil."



In the middle Twenties, Humphrey, Sr., lost his savings in a wave of bank failures and the Humphrey family had to sell their fine home and move to a much smaller one. Young Hubert was shaken by seeing his mother and father cry as they left the big house.

Hubert's father had been almost the only Democrat in Spink County, and after the bank failures, Dad Humphrey turned increasingly against The System—Wall Street, the bankers, and particularly that sinister tribe, the banker's bankers.

Thus Humphrey grew up in an atmosphere of hard work, plain living, fancy salesmanship, underdog living, town-hall democracy, and of a political and social liberalism that sprang from the same soil as Populism and the Non-Partisan League. William Jennings Bryan, Robert M. LaFollette, Sr., George W. Norris, sometimes Teddy Roosevelt—these were the household prophets of the Humphreys. But always Bryan, Bryan, Bryan—the golden voice crying from the prairies, "You shall not crucify mankind . . ."

Hubert's older brother completed three years of college but was financially unable to finish his education until years later. Hubert himself attended the university for a while, but had to give up and come home. He resigned himself to taking a speed-up course as a pharmacist and worked for several years behind the counter in the family drugstore.

The flow of customers to the store enabled him to meet all kinds of people, and he never knew what it was to be alone. In Doland the entire town was his family, and in Huron he knew all the folks who were impoverished when the dust storms blew away their farms and their savings. "I learned more about economics," he says, "from one South Dakota dust storm than I did in all my years in college."

When Humphrey is campaigning today he can speak with clarity and understanding to a dirt farmer, a garage mechanic, or a floating laborer. Humphrey has, indeed, met a payroll—to recall the ancient Republican shibboleth—but he has also gone hungry—not for food, but for education.

It was from this background that Humphrey came by bus in August, 1935, for his first look at Washington. He was travelling as a tourist, on borrowed money, but he had badly needed a vacation from the long, hard depression years in the drugstore.

As he watched from the visitors' gallery the apparent aimlessness of a routine afternoon in the U.S. Senate, the twenty-four year old Humphrey indulged in some expansive fantasies. The depression had forced him out of college, and for years he had been trying, unsuccessfully, to adjust himself to the idea of operating a drugstore all his life; but he did not see how he could get out from behind the counter.

Until late that night, young Hubert talked of his yearnings and his dreams with his uncle, Dr. Harry Humphrey, an old Washingtonian and a longtime government employe, who had made Humphrey's Washington trip possible. To Uncle Harry, his nephew had long looked "like a comer," and this night he persuaded his young nephew that "others have done it, you can do it too, with hard work, study, and the right principles."

That night Hubert wrote home to Huron, to Muriel Buck, his fiancee:

"Dear Bucky, This trip has impressed one thing on my mind . . . I need to do more reading, more writing and more thinking if I ever want to fulfill my dream of being someone in this world. Maybe I seem foolish to have such vain hopes and plans, but, Bucky, I can see how some day, if you and I just apply ourselves and make up our minds to work for bigger things, how we can some day live here in Washington, and probably be in government politics or service. I set my aim at Congress. Don't laugh at me. Maybe it does sound rather egotistical and beyond reason, but, Muriel, I do know others have succeeded."

Thirteen years after that letter to "Bucky," Hubert H. Humphrey, Jr., was a United States Senator. He had achieved his great youthful ambition, but it was Muriel who had provided the crucial tugs and pushes which changed their lives forever.

Few wives of public men have played a more decisive part in their husband's lives than has Muriel Buck Humphrey. A year after they were married she had persuaded Humphrey to leave the drugstore and return to the university.

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Muriel herself has no drive towards the limelight, and it is known that in her common-sense way she dreads what might happen to the Humphrey family if they did, indeed, come to live on Pennsylvania Avenue. But she always took part in the Saturday night strategy discussions which were long a feature of the Humphrey circle. In recent years she has made countless appearances at "coffee hours," and at her campaign meetings she has emerged as an effective political speaker who not only extends greetings and felicitations, but who speaks on issues of the day.

Civil Rights a Dominant Theme from the Beginning

Two years after Hubert Humphrey completed his formal education at the University of Minnesota and Louisiana State University, he ran for mayor of Minneapolis, and two years after that, in 1945, at age thirty-four, he was elected mayor of one of the nation's largest cities by the greatest majority in Minneapolis history.

It was in his successful 1945 campaign that Humphrey began to develop what was to become an overriding interest in civil rights. "This tragic display of racial intolerance," he said in his opening radio speech "requires more than the superficial treatment of additional police. It requires a unified community program based upon recognition of the true ideals of democracy, wherein every person is accepted as a human being with dignity and worth, regardless of race, creed, or color."

Humphrey was so outspoken that Negro friends warned him to slow down as a matter of political strategy. Cecil Newman, editor of a Negro weekly, told him: "Soft-peddle FEPC, Hubert, . . . it is not a popular issue. We know your plans, you've got the Negro vote."

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It was the issue of civil rights that vaulted Humphrey into national prominence overnight—at the Democratic National Convention in Philadelphia in 1948. Convention delegates, fearful of defeat in the Presidential race, were bitterly divided on the civil rights issue. The dominant mood, generated by the professionals, including President Truman, was for compromise.

But a ragged battalion of liberals vowed to fight it out on the floor. Humphrey was their spokesman. In a dramatic speech which captured national headlines, Humphrey sounded the rallying cry of the civil rights forces: "To those who say that this civil rights program is an infringement of states' rights, I say this: that the time has arrived in America for the Democratic Party to get out of the shadow of states' rights and walk forthrightly into the bright sunshine of human rights."

Humphrey and his followers won the day. Their uncompromising resolution was adopted; the Southern delegates marched out to form the Dixiecrats and run their own candidate for President. But it was the year that Harry Truman confounded the prophets and pollsters by thrashing Governor Thomas E. Dewey in one of the great political upsets of American history.

Humphrey's Record on Communism and McCarthyism

The Minnesotan's devotion to civil rights extends to civil liberties, but there is one major blot on that latter record—his sponsorship of the "Communist Control Act." Designed to outlaw the Communist Party in the United States, it produced bitter disagreement and disappointment among his many liberal supporters.

During the years following 1943, when he played so influential a role in welding together Minnesota's Democratic-Farmer-Labor Party, Humphrey had fought Communist infiltration into the fusion movement, driving the Communists and fellow travelers out of seats of power and influence in the fledgling party. But his record on constitutional guarantees of freedom of speech and assembly for all dissident groups was unassailable.

In June, 1953, the sixth annual convention of Americans for Democratic Action adopted a strong statement on McCarthyism, and Humphrey, who had been largely silent in the Senate on McCarthy, played a leading part in seeing that the resolution was approved. The statement condemned McCarthy's "assaults upon our democratic birthright."

At an April, 1954, ADA convention, Humphrey delivered a keynote speech. He attacked McCarthy and his followers as a new kind of "know-nothing party." He first pointed out ADA's anti-Communist record, then went on to attack—without mentioning McCarthy by name—those who "pretend to be the leaders of anti-Communism and the saviors of our liberty . . .

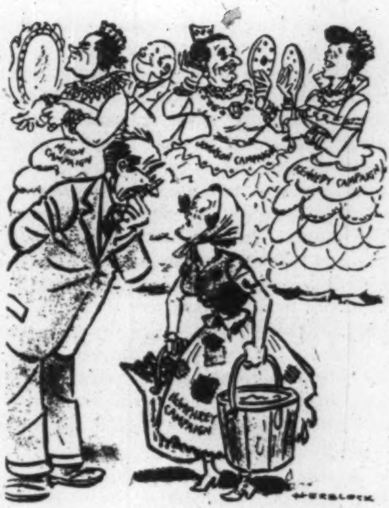
"At a moment when all our national wisdom should be employed in the quest for solutions to the awesome terrors of the hydrogen age, we find ourselves plunged into venomous and often irrelevant fratricidal conflicts that dishonor and debase our traditions. We are compelled to spend so much time challenging the big lie that we seem to have little chance to search for the basic truths that might help lead mankind out of the present world impasse. Worst of all, at an hour when we should be exalting the institutions of freedom, we are allowing them to be tarnished by this madness of know-nothingness."

McCarthyism was already on the wane by the summer of 1954, but it was still not a time when reasonable voices gained their proper audience, and many demagogues were using this issue to the great detriment of the country's prestige. With November elections approaching, it was obvious that this issue would also be used to the detriment of Democratic candidates for office, especially Senators up for re-election.

Max Kampelman, a lawyer and close associate of Humphrey's with experience battling Communists in labor and in the DFL in Minnesota, conceived the basic idea that the Communists were really not a political party. As a political strategist for Humphrey, he further reasoned that a bill that outlawed the Communist Party as such could go through Congress, and that it would be helpful to the harassed Democrats.

Humphrey liked the idea and introduced the bill—which was more extreme than anything McCarthy had ever proposed. The bill struck a tremendously responsive chord in Congress. Other Senators immediately understood the double mission of the proposed act. It was aimed at destruction of the Communist Party, but its political purpose was to protect, presumably forever after, the name of every Senator who voted for it. He would always be able to cite the record that he was so opposed to Communists he had voted to make them outlaws.

Some friends of Humphrey consider this the single blot on his liberal record. One companion of twenty years' standing said, "I gave him hell about this—before, during, and after the whole business. I was never so angry with him. I told him we could all excuse a departure from principle like voting for bills which unfairly hamper the development of oleomargarine as a competitor of butter. I can understand that because it is a matter of his survival as Senator from a dairy state. But the right to join other people in a political party is a basic American freedom."



Herblock in the Washington Post

"You Think There's Anything to That Old Cinderella Story?"

I asked Humphrey recently: "Do you now feel you were oversold on the danger? Do you think the law has done any good?"

He said he thought the purpose of the bill—to take Communist-hunting out of headlines and committee circuses, and put it on the courts—was sound. Perhaps he was merely speaking for the record, but Humphrey told me he felt that passing the bill had saved several liberal Senators who might have been defeated, "certainly at least two." He himself was not one of them; he was re-elected by a huge margin—far more than the possible benefits of the anti-Communist law could account for. On another occasion, Humphrey said, "It is not one of the things I am proudest of. It grew out of my frustration and anger over the way the Republicans were using the Communist issue."

The elements are mixed in this man, as in all men. To the end of his time some practical politicians will fear that "practical politics" will never contain him completely, and idealists from time to time will have reason to cringe over some of his words or deeds.

Humphrey's record in the Senate can best be summarized by reporting that he consistently achieves a 100 per cent voting score on the roll calls prepared by Americans for Democratic Action, the nation's labor unions, and liberal farm organizations and cooperatives. He is no radical, but rather accepts without apparent dissent the basic outlines of the moderate welfare state proposed by liberal Democrats. He rarely, if ever, moves ahead of middle-of-the-road liberalism; for example, he is not identified with the forces seeking national health insurance. As part of the liberal leadership, he conceives and supports legislation whose goal is to provide greater opportunities for a greater number of Americans—without disturbing the basic framework of what is known as our "free enterprise system."

In the field of foreign affairs, Humphrey falls short of embracing the kind of program advanced by *The Progressive*, but few Senators come as close. He is not noticeably identified with the "big stick" and "positions of strength" school of foreign policy, but he is a consistent supporter of what he regards as "adequate appropriations for defense." More than most Senators he has fought for affirmative alternatives to many of our present foreign policies.

Humphrey Keeps Alive the Hope for Disarmament

No one man in high office in Washington, for example, has done so much as has Humphrey to keep alive the hope for disarmament. As Chairman of the Subcommittee on Disarmament of the Foreign Relations Committee, Humphrey has doggedly pursued the goal of genuine security through arms control, rather than the precarious security of stockpiling ever more lethal weapons.

His committee reports have been models of scholarship and fact-finding, and they have helped to pave the way, as in the case of suspension of nuclear tests, for an informed body of public opinion which would support new ideas. On at least one occasion the Foreign Relations Committee was on the verge of abolishing the Subcommittee. Humphrey persuaded his fellow Senators that even if little progress were made, the world should never be told that the U.S. Senate some day live here in Washington, and probably be in government politics or service. I set my aim at Congress. Don't laugh at me. Maybe it does sound rather egotistical and beyond reason, but, Muriel, I do know others have succeeded."

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Humphrey and his followers won the day. Their uncompromising resolution was adopted; the Southern delegates marched out to form the Dixiecrats and run their own candidate for President. But it was the year that Harry Truman confounded the prophets and pollsters by thrashing Governor Thomas E. Dewey in one of the great political upsets of American history.

Humphrey's Record on Communism and McCarthyism

The Minnesotan's devotion to civil rights extends to civil liberties, but there is one major blot on that latter record—his sponsorship of the "Communist Control Act." Designed to outlaw the Communist Party in the United States, it produced bitter disagreement and disappointment among his many liberal supporters.

During the years following 1943, when he played so influential a role in welding together Minnesota's Democratic-Farmer-Labor Party, Humphrey had fought Communist infiltration into the fusion movement, driving the Communists and fellow travelers out of seats of power and influence in the fledgling party. But his record on constitutional guarantees of freedom of speech and assembly for all dissident groups was unassailable.

In June, 1953, the sixth annual convention of Americans for Democratic Action adopted a strong statement on McCarthyism, and Humphrey, who had been largely silent in the Senate on McCarthy, played a leading part in seeing that the resolution was approved. The statement condemned McCarthy's "assaults upon our democratic birthright."

At an April, 1954, ADA convention, Humphrey delivered a keynote speech. He attacked McCarthy and his followers as a new kind of "know-nothing party." He first pointed out ADA's anti-Communist record, then went on to attack—without mentioning McCarthy by name—those who "pretend to be the leaders of anti-Communism and the saviors of our liberty . . .

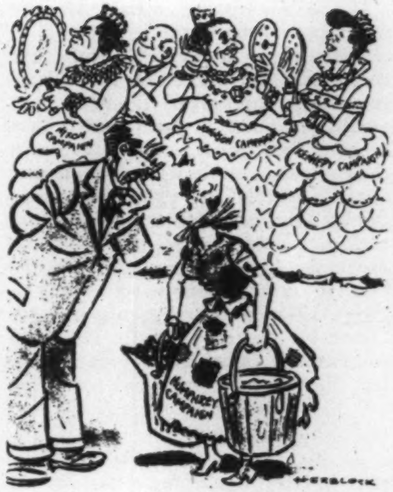
"At a moment when all our national wisdom should be employed in the quest for solutions to the awesome terrors of the hydrogen age, we find ourselves plunged into venomous and often irrelevant fratricidal conflicts that dishonor and debase our traditions. We are compelled to spend so much time challenging the big lie that we seem to have little chance to search for the basic truths that might help lead mankind out of the present world impasse. Worst of all, at an hour when we should be exalting the institutions of freedom, we are allowing them to be tarnished by this madness of know-nothingness."

McCarthyism was already on the wane by the summer of 1954, but it was still not a time when reasonable voices gained their proper audience, and many demagogues were using this issue to the great detriment of the country's prestige. With November elections approaching, it was obvious that this issue would also be used to the detriment of Democratic candidates for office, especially Senators up for re-election.

Max Kampelman, a lawyer and close associate of Humphrey's with experience battling Communists in labor and in the DFL in Minnesota, conceived the basic idea that the Communists were really not a political party. As a political strategist for Humphrey, he further reasoned that a bill that outlawed the Communist Party as such could go through Congress, and that it would be helpful to the harassed Democrats.

Humphrey liked the idea and introduced the bill—which was more extreme than anything McCarthy had ever proposed. The bill struck a tremendously responsive chord in Congress. Other Senators immediately understood the double mission of the proposed act. It was aimed at destruction of the Communist Party, but its political purpose was to protect, presumably forever after, the name of every Senator who voted for it. He would always be able to cite the record that he was so opposed to Communists he had voted to make them outlaws.

Some friends of Humphrey consider this the single blot on his liberal record. One companion of twenty years' standing said, "I gave him hell about this—before, during, and after the whole business. I was never so angry with him. I told him we could all excuse a departure from principle like voting for bills which unfairly hamper the development of oleomargarine as a competitor of butter. I can understand that because it is a matter of his survival as Senator from a dairy state. But the right to join other people in a political party is a basic American freedom."



Herblock in the Washington Post

"You Think There's Anything to That Old Cinderella Story?"

I asked Humphrey recently: "Do you now feel you were oversold on the danger? Do you think the law has done any good?"

He said he thought the purpose of the bill—to take Communist-hunting out of headlines and committee circuses, and put it on the courts—was sound. Perhaps he was merely speaking for the record, but Humphrey told me he felt that passing the bill had saved several liberal Senators who might have been defeated, "certainly at least two." He himself was not one of them; he was re-elected by a huge margin—far more than the possible benefits of the anti-Communist law could account for. On another occasion, Humphrey said, "It is not one of the things I am proudest of. It grew out of my frustration and anger over the way the Republicans were using the Communist issue."

The elements are mixed in this man, as in all men. To the end of his time some practical politicians will fear that "practical politics" will never contain him completely, and idealists from time to time will have reason to cringe over some of his words or deeds.

Humphrey's record in the Senate can best be summarized by reporting that he consistently achieves a 100 per cent voting score on the roll calls prepared by Americans for Democratic Action, the nation's labor unions, and liberal farm organizations and cooperatives. He is no radical, but rather accepts without apparent dissent the basic outlines of the moderate welfare state proposed by liberal Democrats. He rarely, if ever, moves ahead of middle-of-the-road liberalism; for example, he is not identified with the forces seeking national health insurance. As part of the liberal leadership, he conceives and supports legislation whose goal is to provide greater opportunities for a greater number of Americans—without disturbing the basic framework of what is known as our "free enterprise system."

In the field of foreign affairs, Humphrey falls short of embracing the kind of program advanced by *The Progressive,* but few Senators come as close. He is not noticeably identified with the "big stick" and "positions of strength" school of foreign policy, but he is a consistent supporter of what he regards as "adequate appropriations for defense." More than most Senators he has fought for affirmative alternatives to many of our present foreign policies.

Humphrey Keeps Alive the Hope for Disarmament

No one man in high office in Washington, for example, has done so much as has Humphrey to keep alive the hope for disarmament. As Chairman of the Subcommittee on Disarmament of the Foreign Relations Committee, Humphrey has doggedly pursued the goal of genuine security through arms control, rather than the precarious security of stockpiling ever more lethal weapons.

His committee reports have been models of scholarship and fact-finding, and they have helped to pave the way, as in the case of suspension of nuclear tests, for an informed body of public opinion which would support new ideas. On at least one occasion the Foreign Relations Committee was on the verge of abolishing the Subcommittee. Humphrey persuaded his fellow Senators that even if little progress were made, the world should never be told that the U.S. Senate had lost hope in stemming the arms race.

Humphrey early recognized that a vitally important aspect of the pursuit of disarmament was simply prying factual information out of a reluctant Administration, and from the scientists, and assembling it in understandable form. It is Humphrey's conviction that the American people cannot form an intelligent world view of disarmament unless they understand the technology of arms control. Humphrey has waged a running battle with the Atomic Energy Commission and the Pentagon over nuclear testing. Time and again he has forced proponents of continued testing to retract or correct misleading statements which tended to support their position.

One of Hubert Humphrey's most persistent themes is the need to relate American foreign policy to a lever of unusual strength in world society—the vast productive power of American agriculture. His "Food for Peace" plan proposed last year was the latest in Humphrey's frequently successful attempts since 1954 to strengthen legislation which authorizes a program of overseas disposal of surplus food and fiber.

In 1951, Humphrey was the chief Congressional leader sponsoring emergency grain shipments to India. Two years later he was a strong supporter of an Administration proposal to use Commodity Credit Corporation stocks for famine relief in Pakistan.

Public Law 480, the Agricultural Trade Development and Assistance Act, was passed by Congress in 1954 through the efforts of an unlikely coalition of Humphrey and his liberal friends, the ultra-conservative Farm Bureau Federation, and the Dixiecrats. The conservatives saw the measure as a temporary program for dumping overseas some of the wheat, cotton, and other commodities acquired by the Commodity Credit Corporation under the farm price support program.

Humphrey's idea that Public Law 480 could be more than a temporary palliative for the farm surplus problem was steadily reinforced by his travels in Europe in 1957 and his year as a United States delegate to the United Nations in 1956, during which he established close communication with scores of delegates from Asia, Africa, and Latin America.

When Humphrey speaks of the American agricultural surplus, it is consistently in a favorable light. He frequently points out that if the Russians had this great capacity they would not curse it, but count it as a blessing, and put it to dynamic use in their overseas political and economic operations. He has tried to capture the public imagination by coining various phrases such as "Food for Freedom," and in recent months Humphrey has promoted a variety of projects which would implement his "Food for Peace" program. He plans to continue fighting for greater, not less, food production, and for using our abundance with imagination and with humanity.

In this, as in other fields of legislative activity, Humphrey has proved himself a brilliant politician with an extremely agile mind. He is rarely doctrinaire or rigid. He has a paradoxically conciliatory and flexible attitude toward those with whom he disagrees. He has been determined for years to be practical, and it is rather difficult, as it was with F.D.R., to try to blueprint at what point he will be practical and at what point he will be idealistic.

The most common criticism made of Humphrey by friends and foes, by people who do not know him, and by some who have known him for years, is that he talks too much and over too wide a range of subjects. Today he takes more time for thought, perhaps pauses a moment in interviews before he answers a question, and his closest associates are pleased.

"You people," Humphrey said to a group of newsmen one day, "always write that I talk on every subject. I do. I *like* every subject. I can't help it. It's just my glands."

There seems to be no doubt that some of his speeches are too long and that he speaks out on too many issues. Sometimes, though rarely, he gives information he has not verified, or makes a hasty conclusion when swept along by his own oratory. Sometimes, either through his sheer love of talking or through a desire to get attention for his ideas, the Senator "wears out his welcome."

* * *

Perhaps it is a little hard to define Humphrey as anything but a politician who may be on his way to becoming a statesman. He is certainly not an abstract theoretical student of government, although he is keenly interested in methods of organization. He reads quite a bit, but swiftly and in a fragmentary, journalistic way—mostly reports, magazines and sometimes a topical book of the hour. He does not read long books for work or for play—few Senators ever do—but it does not seem as if his schedule is all that keeps him from books. He likes action. He loves spirited discussion and the extemporaneous play of ideas, but he would not enjoy that same play of ideas so much in a book. He rarely seems to enjoy being alone, he never says he is looking forward to a quiet time in which to read and think over some report.

Humphrey has a great quality that helps him keep his balance—a well-developed sense of humor.

William E. Bohn, a veteran editor of the *New Leader* magazine, was amazed by three things in a recent interview with Humphrey: His candor, his *silences,* and his sense of humor. Bohn asked Humphrey what he thought when Mrs. Roosevelt made the remark that Humphrey had a "spark of greatness." Humphrey replied, "I felt deeply flattered, humble." "Then," Bohn writes, "he subsided into silence as if embarrassed."

Bohn then stirred him up with a sentence from the article in the *Saturday Evening Post* in which Walter Ridder said of Humphrey, "He just doesn't look like a President."

"Humphrey's silence ended immediately," Bohn recalls. "'What can a guy mean by a statement like that? What a man does and what he thinks are more important than how he looks. The one who looked most like a President was Harding. And the man who looked least like one was Lincoln. Truman may not have had the presidential look, but he had the ability. Someone ought to tell Ridder that this isn't a beauty contest.' "

Humphrey considers himself a small businessman, and through the years he has had extraordinary success in negotiating with businessmen on public problems. Quite early in his Senate career Humphrey learned to respond to what he considers "reasonable requests" from businessmen. Many lifelong conservative Republicans in his home state think of him mainly as a man who works hard and gets things done for Minnesota. He provides action and information promptly when they ask for it. He has drive and knows how to push things through the federal bureaucracy. He takes businessmen's requests and inquiries under consideration as he would inquiries from any other constituents.

It is difficult for the all-out liberal to understand some of the things Humphrey favors to help business. Franklin Roosevelt often disappointed liberals because he never saw himself as a social reformer out to make over the economic system. Like F.D.R., Humphrey has an unshakable faith in the free enterprise system—he has never worked to change it, but merely to patch it up, to guide it, to see that government steps in promptly when the system fails to work for the greatest good of the greatest number.

Hubert Humphrey traveled a long, uphill road from a South Dakota drug store to the United States Senate. He has come a long way, too, during his dozen years in the Senate. Originally regarded as a fresh and talkative upstart, he is now so highly regarded by official Washington that even Vice President Nixon could say that the man from Minnesota "has a good mind, he's fast on his feet, a fine organizer, and a terrific worker. He has probably gained more in the respect of his colleagues than any Senator I've known."

The polls, the politicians, and the press are unanimous in their judgment that Humphrey's chances are slim this year. But he is only forty-eight years old. It might well turn out that he could be right this year and President another year.

Is Everybody Happy?

by James A. Wechsler

This article is condensed and adapted from a chapter of Mr. Wechsler's book, Reflections of An Angry Middle-Aged Editor, *which will be published shortly by Random House. Mr. Wechsler is the editor of the New York* Post.—The Editors.

One may advance a variety of diagnoses for the malaise that afflicts the politics of our time, alternately driving young men and women into the comfortable refuges of suburbia and the beatnik joints of San Francisco. At first glance they seem to add up to the conflicting propositions that things are too good and too bad, too simple and too complex, too bright and too dark.

The view most commonly advanced by Henry Luce's publications is that America is so giddy a success story that it has rendered militant political liberalism obsolete. The poor, we are told, are virtually no longer with us; the rich have learned to accommodate themselves to the realities of the welfare state; the middle class is serenely clipping its coupons, and the workman is driving his Chrysler.

In this opulent land the New Dealer, the Fair Dealer, the Square Dealer, or by whatever name one chooses to describe the man, is a rebel without a cause. If certain inequities persist in human relations, if there remain "pockets of discontent," they are being steadily overcome by "moderate" measures; if the threat of annihilation hangs over the world, that is being met with resolution and fortitude by hard-headed Republican management of our destinies, in cooperation with Democratic statesmen like Senate Majority Leader Lyndon Johnson, who are never to be confused with "left-wing Democrats" and other screwballs. For America and Britain alike, cried *Life* not long ago, "the abundant life is already a fact."

When the President embarked for Europe in August, 1959, *Time* affirmed that "the U.S. that Dwight D. Eisenhower left behind him that week was one in which fear and fretting were made ridiculous by the facts of national life." (In the same week, *Newsweek*, *Time's* competitor, reported that fifty-eight per cent of American college students had chosen *Mad* as their favorite magazine.)

That is *Time's* American cover story, and it has sold well. It has permeated the political world, coloring the attitudes and guiding the strategies of ambitious men. The portrait may be intermittently marred by the harassment of Negro school children in Little Rock, by recession in Detroit, by a slum fire in New York, by a school shortage in Chicago, or by the discovery of an unexpectedly high level of fallout in St. Louis' milk. These are the random disturbances of democracy; they do not alter the majesty of the portrait. America, we are told, is busy; America is prosperous; America is preoccupied with the reaping of its golden harvest; and America looks only for leaders who will sustain the general glow. Let the hell-raisers face it; they are out of date.

Obviously there are elements of validity in this idyll. It is, for example, a truer estimate of the American condition than the one which *Pravda* and *Izvestia* normally give their readers. That there are large flaws and self-deceptions in it will be contended later; but *Time's* view of the nation is important if only because it is accepted by so much of the press and by so many political figures who are swayed by what they read or what is read to them.

Much of the same thing has been said by others, and some of those saying it most vociferously were once the angriest critics of the American scene. The "rediscovery of America" became a fashionable pursuit among intellectuals in the 1950's. For many this was expiation for the folly of their romance with Communism; having finally recognized the nature of the beast, they could feel only uncritical passion for the girl they had left behind.

* * *

Thus the image of "settling down" ceased to portend a life of drab accommodation; it became an act of positive virtue and maturity. In a symposium on "The Younger Generation" published by *The New Leader,* Norman Podhoretz saluted the new era as a time when young people learned that "the real adventure of existence was to be found not in radical politics or in Bohemia but in the 'moral life' of the individual, within the framework of his efforts to do his duty and assume his responsibilities in a world of adults.

> "The mistake of the Thirties had been to suppose that society could ever be more than a bad bargain with the absolute; to the younger generation American society seems on the whole a reasonably decent environment for the intellectual . . . they discovered that 'conformity' did not necessarily mean dullness and unthinking conventionality, that, indeed, there was great beauty, profound significance in a man's struggle to achieve freedom *through* submission to conditions . . .
>
> "The trick, then, was to stop carping at life like a petulant adolescent . . . and to get down to the business of adult living as quickly as possible. And get down to business the younger generation did. A great many of them married early; most of them made firm and decisive commitments to careers of a fairly modest kind, such as teaching; they cultivated an interest in food, clothes, furniture, manners—these being elements of the 'richness' of life that the generation of the Thirties had deprived itself of. As befitted responsible adults, there was nothing playful or frisky about these young people . . . Very much aware of how complicated and difficult all problems were, very much alive to the dangers of ideologies and enthusiasms and passions . . . they struck a perfect attitude of the civilized adult: poised, sober, judicious, prudent."

Granted that there remained the fact of the atomic bomb, and the nervousness it might induce; admittedly "one was living in a world of severely limited possibilities, balanced precariously on the edge of an apocalypse." The truth was that "in such a world there was very little one could know, very little one could do." So one buckled down to the intriguing duties and diversions of existence, presumably leaving the bomb for the adolescents to worry about.

While Podhoretz expressed concern about the problem of "unearned maturity—a maturity that has become a means of protecting one's neat little existence from the disruptive incursions of experience," he felt obliged to add the dubious defense that "the prime virtue of a period of cold war and atomic stalemate must necessarily be prudence."

Reading this ode to a "non-generation," it was difficult to avoid thinking of the editor of the magazine in which it appeared—a warm, zestful, sixty-five-year-old immigrant named Sol Levitas, who has devoted most of his life to warring against oppression, injustice, and all varieties of man's inhumanities to man, and who never seems to have suffered from combat fatigue; one wondered whether things have gone so awry that the young have suddenly grown old while the old, refusing to fade away, momentarily halt the clock.

Podhoretz, of course, was avowedly writing of a segment of a generation, which is as much as anyone can purport to do, and primarily of those young college graduates who deemed themselves intellectuals; and perhaps it may be said that he was striving to record a mood rather than to justify it. In any case, with certain amendments the passages might apply to a large section of young middle-class America. In a sense his portrait blended two views of what is going on: the notion, on the one hand, that it is possible—economically and every other way— to "get down to the business of living" at an early age, and the conviction that it is impossible to do anything about the larger perils of the world. Thus is *Time's* optimism happily blended with the dourness of more skeptical man; everything is serene in suburbia, and the world is way beyond us.

To former Socialist Dan Bell, writing in the same symposium, the matter was not quite so simple; he detected among the young an "underlying restlessness, a feeling of being cheated out of adventure, and a search for passion." But:

> ". . . the problem for the generation is less, I would argue, the 'fear of experience' than an inability to define an 'enemy.' One can have causes and passions only when one knows against whom to fight. The writers of the Twenties—Dadaist, Menckensian, and nihilist—scorned bourgeois mores. The radicals of the Thirties fought 'capitalism,' Fascism and, some, Stalinism. Today, intellectually, emotionally, who is the enemy that one can fight?"

In his *Memoirs of a Revolutionist,* Dwight Macdonald, a refugee from that political nook-and-cranny known as Trotskyism and other varieties of anti-Stalinist radicalism, summed up his own retirement from politics:

> "The questions that now interest me are not the 'big' ones: What to Do About Russia? Is Planning Incompatible With Capitalism? Will There Be a Depression? Does America Need a Labor Party or a Revitalized Democratic Party—or just a Dozen More TVAs? Is World Government the Answer to the H-Bomb? These seem to me either unimportant or unanswerable. So long as the dominant areas of the world are organized in vast super-states, whose economic base is large scale industry and whose political base is tens of millions of helpless 'citizens,' I see no hope of significant improvement . . . It is the 'small' questions that now seem to me significant: What is a good life? How do we know what's good and what's bad? . . . Who am I? How can I live lovingly, truthfully, pleasurably?"

The questions with which Macdonald is now confronting himself are obviously neither inconsequential nor novel. What is interesting is the view that they are somehow more answerable than those he defines as "The Big Ones," or that complete and total answers may be found outside the framework of politics. How, for example, does one define "the good life" without at least considering whether it involves a degree of social responsibility?

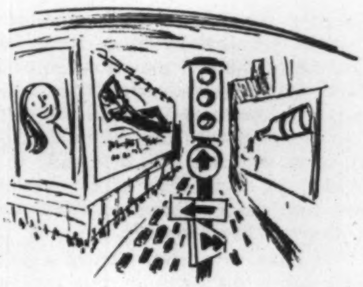
Each in his way—Podhoretz, Bell, and Macdonald, one in his early thirties, the second nearing forty, the third in his fifties—describe a variety of political disenchantment. In different tones each imparts the sense that there is little that can be done, or that would prove to be worthy of the effort. The great battles are either over or too big for us; the radicalism of another day is immaterial, irrelevant, and incompetent; what is the point of carrying banners without slogans?

* * *

Despite the spectacle of mass "settling down," the flowering of suburbia, and the statistics of economic advance, there is plainly something wrong with the highly-publicized image of American serenity. The "beat generation" may be a fragmentary, peripheral upheaval; more meaningful is the wider withdrawal and frustration. Sam Lubell, after touring the country during the 1958 elections, wrote: "One finds a deep uneasiness. This uneasiness has a curious quality. It is not fretting over something that has already happened. Mainly, it reflects an anxiety over impending disaster, a sense that as a nation we are beset by problems which are slipping beyond our control."

The mounting traffic in tranquilizers challenged the picture of a nation enjoying its labors and resting well, even where the lawns were greenest. A study in Englewood, N.J., published in 1959, disclosed widespread family tensions induced by the pressures of "keeping up."

A dispatch by Austin C. Wehrwein to the New York *Times* summarized the findings this way:



> CHICAGO, Aug. 7—Life in growing suburbia, specifically in Englewood, N. J., is giving people ulcers, heart attacks and other "tension-related psychosomatic disorders," according to a doctor who practices there . . .
>
> The report was made by Dr. Richard E. Gordon and his wife, Katherine C. Gordon, after a study of admissions to the Englewood hospital.
>
> They found that everything from crab grass to high taxes played a role in emotional difficulties that are linked to varied diseases. The cogent fact about Englewood, the report said, was that it was a fast-growing suburb with "rapid social mobility."
>
> In plain talk this means, roughly, that many families are busy getting ahead.

How many lost dreams are summarized in that report?

It is, of course, part of the unending human self-deception to believe that a change of address may resolve all the perplexities of life, and that escape from the crowded city streets to the sunlit spaciousness of suburbia will automatically bring marital harmony and spiritual calm. The notion, indeed, that all we seek in life is peace and quiet is one of the central befuddlements of our age; is the tranquilized man the dream figure of our century, his senses sufficiently dulled to avoid pleasure, and pain, and perception alike?

Nevertheless, there remains a special poignancy about the failure of the suburban vision. For many of those who have made it to the outskirts have labored long to pay for the journey; that so many have found so little satisfaction in the climax of the journey cannot be simply dismissed as proof that man cannot buy heaven on earth.

But it has also become fashionable to cite the unrest in suburbia as evidence that all our ills are those of the mind, and that any absorption with economic pressures reflects a sort of cultural lag. Even in Englewood, of course, taxes and crab grass alike shadow the model home. But far more painful is the lot of the man we like to call "average" in a time when inflation is more and more viewed as an uncombatable malignancy.

From one viewpoint it may be said that we are the victims of an emotional crisis that has been building up since 1914, that man has never been quite the same since the blood-drenched slaughters of the early years of World War I, and that the H-bomb is the symbol of our futility. To someone like myself, born in 1915, it is hard to remember any time when reason seemed to be in the ascendancy and when we were unafflicted by existing disorder or the threat of greater catastrophe to come. I was not quite fourteen when the depression struck America; the Thirties were alternately shadowed by economic tragedy, the rise of Nazism, the victory of Fascism in Spain in what seemed like the decisive battleground of the decade, the collapse of the Russian myth in the fantasies of the Moscow trials, and the expectation of larger war.

One had hardly a moment to breathe between the surrender of Japan and the beginnings of the cold war; by 1948 the Communists had staged their coup in Czechoslovakia and shattered the illusions of multitudes of innocents, just as the Nazi-Soviet Pact had done in 1939. In 1950 we were thrust overnight into a conflict in Korea, to most Americans a remote, unreal terrain; even the knowledge that for the first time men were fighting under the banner of the United Nations in defense of the principle of collective security against aggression, rather than as the conscripts of national states, could not dispel the gloom one felt at the awareness that "here we go again." Finally —or finally, as of this writing—there was the ruthless Russian intervention in Hungary, where young men once again perished defying a colossus while we wrung our hands impotently and even our most reckless "liberationists" fled for cover.

Since 1914, then, we have lived through a longer than forty-five-years war, and the end is not in sight. During the same period we have wrought wonders of material progress, and glimpsed new horizons of abundance through the prospective peaceful uses of atomic energy. But our possessions, our gadgets, our little victories over nature look lustreless in our hands. For Herblock intermittently reminds us that The Thing is ticking; and the communiques of the day mock all our triumphs:

> WASHINGTON (A.P.)—The United States may have developed a lithium bomb—a comparatively cheap method of producing a walloping hydrogen explosion . . .

Meanwhile, the air is filled with jungle noises. Columnist Robert C. Ruark offers his formula for curbing juvenile delinquency:

> "The Mosaic law was good enough for the Biblical people and I am getting to be strictly an eye-for-eye, tooth-for-tooth cat myself. 'Thou shalt not kill' is a good line and, if you do, the idea is that somebody ought to kill you right back as swiftly as possible and with a minimum of sentiment or excuse. If this sounds harsh, I quote the Bible and J. Edgar Hoover as my principal teachers."

* * *

The voices of reassurance are similarly unconvincing. David Riesman suggested a few years ago that trouble was greatly exaggerated by men with a nostalgia for old political combats:

> ". . . our steadily rising productivity has made it possible for politicians to pay off their promises in jobs and coin of the realm rather than in a fanatical search for scapegoats . . . Despite the current outcry over apathy and corruption, Americans possess increasingly competent government, without having to spend much energy getting it. Many intellectuals and non-intellectuals feel uncomfortable in this situation and wish for parties and programs that would provide election Armageddons and 'meaningful' issues—as many once 'found such issues' by applying Marxist stereotypes to events. But here, as in the economic area, the European model has been quite misleading . . ."

Those who are less optimistic about our national equanimity urge that we turn fiercely upon ourselves, acknowledge that the universal condition of disorder lies within each man and that all political nostrums must fail because of the evil that lurks in each dark soul. It is not society that is ailing, or in the reorganization of society that we shall find any solutions; it is all of us who are sick, sick, sick; it is in therapy or theology alone that we will find peace; liberalism needs not a program but a doctor.

We have, of course, learned a good deal about ourselves in this century and much of the discovery is unpleasant. For those who clung to the vision of the perfectability of man, the disillusionment has been especially rough; for those who minimized the spasms of irrationality in man, the organized murder of Fascist and Communist states has been pitiless revelation. We have much more to learn in the whole murky realm of the private personality.

Yet none of this has quite told the whole story. Given the history of the last forty-five years, one is almost compelled to marvel that so many men in so many places still find a common ethical language; that such concepts as liberty, equality, and fraternity still have a shared meaning; that the capacity for heroism of a freedom-fighter in Budapest or a Negro school child in Little Rock still endures as it did at Dunkirk and Madrid; that men apparently in full possession of their wits are still capable of being moved by considerations other than flagrant self-interest (unless the desire to satisfy one's own conscience may be called a form of self-gratification) or irrational sexual compulsion. Some may choose to define this as the continuity of religious impulse and others may simply discern in it the existence of a moral realm; but few are totally unaware of it, or do not at some moment in their lives identify the phenomenon. It is not enough, it seems to me, to derogate all this by regarding Jesus as a compulsive masochist, or charity as an expression of guilt.

On the surface this appears to be a time when any reflections related to the continuity of idealism are deemed either naive or, in the lingo of the politicians, "impractical." Any militant brand of humanist liberalism is termed passe either because, as we are told by the realistic wardheeler, the average citizen is so well off that he doesn't care or, as we are told by the disaffected intellectual, so beat that he is beyond caring. Let each man, then, cultivate his own garden in his own way, whether he believes that all is well or that all is lost; in either case he is in no mood for great endeavors.

* * *

Meanwhile, others simply admonish us to realize that this is necessarily a time of "limited objectives": The unalterable fact of life is the Soviet threat to other nations; since it is unthinkable to contemplate "preventive war," we can do nothing more than sit around, keep our fists up, and try to concentrate on the comforts of life. This is the way things will be for a long time unless they awkwardly explode in our faces; but let it be clear that there is nothing anyone can do that matters much in a time of stalemate. Let "prudence" and "moderation" reign.

But, for some, such answers remain unsatisfying. Liberalism admittedly seems defensive, sluggish, apologetic in most of the manifestations of its public spokesmen; many of its practitioners are reminiscent of the "tired radicals" of 1919 who, as Walter Weyl wrote, had once "aspired to overturn society" and ended up "fighting in a dull board of directors of a village library for the inclusion of certain books." Then, as now, many had "lost faith in progress, in the rationality and disinterestedness of man, and in the malleability of society," as William E. Leuchtenberg wrote in *The Perils of Prosperity*.

Liberalism had been thus buried before. Yet it was less than fifteen years from the disenchantment of Herbert Croly—"the chief distinguishing aspect of the Presidential campaign of 1920," he wrote, "is the eclipse of liberalism or progressivism as an effective force in American politics"—to the birth of the New Deal. No iron law of history decrees that another resurgence is out of the question, or that, in Walter Lippmann's words, "whirl" is forever king.

THE BEATING OF BOB BEAME

by WILLIAM ABBOTT

ROBERT DIXON BEAME stared after the man who was disappearing into the stiff night air.

"Fired for wanting a union!" he thought bitterly. "Here's a guy who gives all he has to a company—the best years of his life—and then gets canned because he wants a little self-respect."

Anyway, this was how Beame figured it. He was a union organizer for the American Federation of Hosiery Workers. A group of employes at the Franklin (North Carolina) Hosiery Company had asked the Asheville Central Labor Union for help in organizing their plant. The central labor body, in turn, got in touch with Beame, who came down from his home in Greensboro to give his professional service to the mill workers.

The man who had just been fired was Dolphia Fouts, a knitter at the mill, and Beame regarded his discharge as a company declaration of war. The Franklin Company was owned by the huge Burlington Mills Industries, an organization with a long, grim history of hard-fought battles with the union.

Beame had to get the man's job back. Things were going well up to now, but if he couldn't check this company move, the drive was as good as lost. The company would try to prove Fouts deserved the discharge, yet the fact remained that firing a man for union activity was against the law. The two men stayed up late that night going over the case.

Already the workers at the mill had heard about Fouts. They would start wondering who would be next. A man with fear doesn't lightly sign a union card. Most workers have families to support, and losing your job in a region where factory jobs are scarce is serious business. A man begins to wonder whether a union can offer any protection at all. And fear in some men leads to hate.

* * *

It must have been a little after seven the next morning, February 10, 1959. Beame wasn't sure. He only knew the loud pounding at the door wouldn't go away. He fought back sleep as he stumbled from his bed.

The banging grew louder.

"Mr. Beame, we want to see you," demanded a voice beyond the motel room door.

It was a stranger's voice. By this time Beame knew most of the union sympathizers. An organizer has to contact mill workers personally. Sometimes it takes hours to persuade one man to sign a union card, and only when the union gets a good majority of cards signed does it petition for an election to represent all the employees in the mill. Of course, pro-unionists in the shop are also busy talking union, and Beame didn't know everybody. Beame shrugged; he would see.

He opened the door.

Four men exploded into the room shouting obscene determination "to get rid of you."

A big hand pushed the organizer into a chair. Then—whack! A fist smashed into his face.

Beame tried to get up. Hands grabbed him from behind. A man before him brought a slamming blow to his head.

"We don't want you around here," the man said.

Another man's fist cut into his jaw.

"We represent the workers," the second man said.

Beame saw black as hard knuckles crashed his skull.

"No union here," the men said.

The organizer felt blood gush out of his mouth.

"There are more than a hundred outside now," the men said.

Beame felt a hand belt him on the ear. He struggled for words. He got their point, he said. They could stop now. He would leave town. "At least let me put my clothes on," he pleaded.

"We'll put your clothes on," a man, apparently the leader, said. Arms grabbed at his legs and forced his trousers on.

"Where are your car keys?" the leader asked.

Beame told him.

"Where you want to go?"

"Asheville."

"All right. When we go out of here, other cars will be out there. When we get to the highway, you follow the car ahead and turn right."

"That's not the way to Asheville," Beame protested.

"That's the way you're going."

To make sure the unionist got the message, the men slashed him hard. He hit the floor. Heels and toes ground into his ribs, deep into his groin. Again Beame felt arms lift him into a chair—heavy fists pounded his brain, his body. Somehow, he managed to stay conscious.

Next, they were dragging him out of his room into the daylight. Through puffed eyes, Beame made out a large group of people standing across the road.

"What have they come for?" the unionist wondered. "To watch a lynching?" He noticed no one made a move in his defense.

The men gave him a push into the front seat. Beame saw one of the men begin to crawl into the driver's seat. Numb and bleeding, the organizer knew this was the last chance he would ever get. His life depended upon what he did in the next few seconds.

Every muscle strained as Beame raised himself and shoved the man out of the car. Quickly he locked the doors.

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Then he turned to face the mob. They were smiling. They weren't concerned. The organizer was hemmed in by five cars.

The mob leader motioned to the unionist to start up and follow a car starting down the motel driveway.

A prisoner, Beame had no choice but to follow the command. He began shaking the fog from his head. There must be some escape. At least he was still alive and alone in his own car. This was something.

As the lead car started down the highway, Beame saw his chance. There was just enough room for him to jerk his car hard and fast to the right. His foot slammed the accelerator. Out he zoomed toward town.

The cars behind him sped their motors and raced in pursuit.

At top speed Beame roared into Franklin, the other cars at his tail. He saw automobiles waiting motionlessly for a red light to change. He whizzed on by and then cut in front of what he thought was the city hall.

Tires screeched. He jerked the car to a halt. Beame jumped out and ran up to a city policeman.

"Stick close to me. No one will bother you," said the officer after Beame told him the story.

The cars of the mob drew up. Beame estimated there were between thirty and fifty at that time. Their leader slammed the car door and hopped up to the unionist and police officer. He stayed with them while they went to a booth to make a call.

It seemed to Beame that the whole town had turned out to watch the show, like a huge crowd of festive spectators turning out to watch a pack of hounds and men pursue a hapless fox.

The policeman telephoned the mayor. "Mayor," he said, "I have a man here who was driving at an excessive rate of speed and ran a red light—and the boys are after him. What do you want me to do?"

The policeman listened; then he said: "You say let him go?"

"Let me talk to him," demanded Beame.

The officer refused.

"Let me use the phone. I need protection," the organizer insisted.

The officer refused again. He said he could go to the city limits with the unionist. This was all he could do.

"The sheriff. Take me to the sheriff," cried Beame.

The policeman finally agreed. He, Beame, and the mob leader went over to a building. A man came up to meet them.

"Have you got radio communications?" Beame asked desperately.

The man said yes.

"Would you call the state troopers for me?"

The man said no.

Finally the man Beame assumed was either the sheriff or one of his deputies agreed to take him to the county line.

"Where do you want to go?"

"Atlanta."

"All right."

"None of these cars are to follow me," said Beame.

The man agreed.

Beame got into his car. He noticed the cars of the mob started up and began to trail him.

As the procession of Beame, the sheriff's car, and the mob drove by the plant he had been trying to organize, the unionist noticed police cars in the company driveway. Several policemen were leaning on their vehicles talking to somebody inside the gate. When Beame saw this, he felt sure the local authorities were in cahoots with the company.

* * *

At last they arrived at the Georgia state line.

The sheriff's car waved Beame on. The unionist noticed one of the mob's cars break out fast and rush into the neighboring state. The union man stopped alongside the sheriff's car and rolled his window down.

"I'm not going to leave your protection with that car up there waiting for me," he called out.

"It's not one of this group," the man in the sheriff's car replied.

"Yes it is," insisted Beame. "You gave me your word; you promised you wouldn't let this group follow me."

People started getting out of their cars. The man driving the sheriff's car turned to the mob leader and told him to get the other car back across the state line. He did.

The leader of the mob went back to his own auto where he picked a piece of rubber hose off the front seat. He shook it vigorously at the unionist. Men cursed and threatened mutilation if they ever caught Beame again.

At last Beame lit out for Georgia. In his rear-view mirror he saw cars of the mob take off after him. But Beame was an experienced driver, and he gradually pulled away from his pursuers.

At Dahlonega, Georgia, Beame stopped and telephoned Adolph Benet, first vice president of the Hosiery Workers' Union. He told him what had happened. Benet met him in Dalton, Georgia, at the courthouse and took the battered organizer to Chattanooga, Tennessee, where a doctor put Beame in the hospital.

Franklin's police chief, Sidney M. Carter, sent back Beame's brief case, but missing were the names and addresses of union sympathizers at the mill.

The law authorities didn't seem distressed over the incident. Sheriff Harry Thomas told a Chattanooga *Times* reporter: "I don't know of any disturbance—only what I've heard." He said he "heard" a few of the boys "got with" Beame over at the motel. He added that workers in Franklin "just don't want a union." Thomas said he was home at the time of the beating.

A grand jury refused to indict any members of the mob despite a signed confession by one of its members naming the participants. A few of Franklin's "better citizens" expressed disapproval of the beating, but town sympathy generally seemed to be on the side of the mob.

Hosiery Workers President Andrew Janaskie wired the FBI and got in touch with the McClellan Committee investigating unethical practices in the labor and management field. A committee investigator visited Franklin, filed his report, and that was the end of it.

In December, 1959, a National Labor Relations Board trial examiner charged the company with a list of unfair labor practices including discharging workers for union activity, attempting to create a labor spy network, and threatening to close down the plant if workers formed a union. So the fired union sympathizers got their jobs back and the company was ordered to cease and desist from any further anti-union activity.

And the union? There is no union. The beating of Bob Beame took care of that.

The Humphrey-Kennedy Race

Struggle for Wisconsin

by MILES McMILLIN

ANYTHING CAN happen in a state that in one brief decade can swing its choice for Senator from a LaFollette to a McCarthy to a Proxmire. It is this unpredictable quality of Wisconsin politics that adds spice to the Democratic Presidential primary race between Senators John F. Kennedy of Massachusetts and Hubert H. Humphrey of Minnesota.

By all the signs the politicians honor, Kennedy should capture a substantial majority of the popular vote for Wisconsin's thirty-one delegates to the Democratic National Convention at the April 5 election. But there are curious cross-currents which make the Humphrey forces feel they have a fighting chance to win.

The Kennedy-Humphrey struggle began as a brass knuckles affair, and more of the same may come in the closing days of the campaign. Some of the more thoughtful Democratic leaders decided to stand away from the fight in the hope that the party, which holds power in Wisconsin for the first time in twenty-five years, could be stabilized against the hurricane force of Presidential politics. But their voices have been futile against the storm.

It all started with a Humphrey victory in the state party over the distribution of delegates. In a bitterly fought battle, the Humphrey forces on the controlling committee mustered a two-vote margin to reduce by half the number of delegates elected by the state at large, and increase the number elected in each of the state's ten Congressional districts. Kennedy is considered likely to carry the urban districts where Democratic strength is concentrated, while Humphrey is reported ahead in the more numerous rural districts where the Democratic vote is relatively small. If the vote runs that way, it is possible that Kennedy could carry the state in the popular vote—even by a substantial margin—and still win only about half the delegates. The success of the effort of the Humphrey supporters to cushion the effect of a majority popular vote for Kennedy brought a roar of protest and violent charges of "vote stealing" from the Kennedy supporters.

In the meantime, Robert Kennedy, brother of the candidate, touched off another uproar by attempting to tie his favorite villain, James Hoffa, to Humphrey—a task made easier for him by Hoffa's invasion of Wisconsin to denounce Senator Kennedy.

With Republicans watching gleefully from the sidelines, Democratic Governor Gaylord Nelson, who has maintained neutrality in an effort to avoid a fatal party split, proclaimed himself referee and was promptly denounced by both sides. But his intervention and his pleas for harmony helped drive the bloodiest fighting underground. Senator Kennedy said no one was trying to tie Hoffa to Humphrey and Kennedy backers ceased shouting "Thou shalt not steal" at those who voted for the change in delegate distribution.

Both candidates helped settle the dust of battle by denouncing personal attacks on each other. "If any of my supporters," said the Senator from Minnesota, "should raise any phony issues or say anything that reflects on the honesty or integrity of Senator Kennedy, they will not be with me for long." "I intend," said the Senator from Massachusetts, "when Humphrey's name is mentioned, to speak well of him. I request, moreover, that everyone working on my behalf in this state abide by the same principles."

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Humphrey invited Kennedy to join him in a series of debates—to save campaign expenses and provide the voters a clearer choice on issues. Kennedy replied by saying that there are no differences on basic issues worthy of debate. Humphrey cracked back by asking why Kennedy entered the campaign if there are no differences.

The Midwestern Senator from rural Minnesota, aware that Kennedy is somewhat vulnerable on farm issues in agricultural Wisconsin—the latter's record includes votes against rural electrification and in favor of the unpopular flexible price support program—insists that their records be compared and discussed, but Kennedy has rejected the challenge.

Whatever the merits of either candidate's position, it remains true that no issue of outstanding significance has developed between them, and there is little prospect that any will in the closing days of the campaign. They have disagreed in the past on farm policy, but Kennedy now says he has changed his views, after learning more about farm problems. Humphrey's supporters say, "Kennedy wants to run on Hubert's record." Humphrey himself dismissed Kennedy as a "fabricated friend of the farmer—in other words, no friend at all."

* * *

The great differences between Kennedy and Humphrey lie in their personalities, character, background, training, and approach to political problems. Kennedy is pleasant and correct, reflecting his exclusive school training and privileged background. Humphrey is voraciously gregarious and ebullient, greeting each person as a life-long friend.

Kennedy shows the advantage of having been introduced to politics by a father who was at the top, where politics is a business. Humphrey's father was at the bottom, where politics is a philosophy. What Kennedy learned about the hard realities of politics as part of growing up, Humphrey learned from experience in his adult life. The difference is apparent in the way they handle the day-to-day problems of campaigning.

Kennedy's campaign is not only better financed, but it is a model of efficiency. He packs a tremendous amount of activity into each day, with every move timed to the second. Humphrey's schedule, in contrast, is often mangled, with frequent delays and missed connections. He jokes that no one campaigning with him will ever be bored by over-organization.

Humphrey's humor is earthy and spontaneous. Kennedy's is sophisticated and calculated. Humphrey worries an audience with his fervor, even as he delights it with his cascading wisecracks. Kennedy leaves his listeners purring. A Wausau housewife said, "I'd like to cuddle him."

* * *

Kennedy and Humphrey spoke within a few days at a small Wisconsin college. A teacher at the college whose political judgment is widely respected reported that Kennedy made a far better impression than did Humphrey.

"People today," said the teacher, who is a strong Humphrey supporter, "are uncomfortable with a man with a cause."

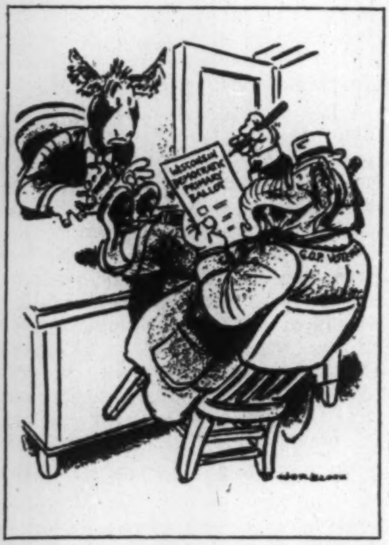
If the number of people who turn out for campaign speeches is a measure of the strength of the two candidates at the polls, Kennedy should be an easy winner. His crowds are spectacularly large. But it has not gone unnoticed that his audiences are swelled by many who have come to see a handsome matinee idol. There is no way of knowing whether they will make the effort to vote for him—or have ever bothered to vote for anyone. The Humphrey forces claim they are not worried by Kennedy's capacity to draw greater throngs. They remember former Senator Joseph R. McCarthy's big crowds and they remember too how he trailed far behind his own ticket. They say Frank Sinatra or Elvis Presley would draw crowds similar to Kennedy's.

Humphrey's smaller audiences consist mostly of people genuinely interested, in varying degrees, in politics. They are more likely to back their interest with votes. In a Wisconsin primary, where the number turning out is notoriously low, this could be important.

Kennedy's private polls show that he has a commanding lead. But the Humphrey camp is fond of pointing out that the same poll takers found in 1958 that Governor Gaylord Nelson had no chance of winning.

One of the remarkable sidelights of the campaign is the time and expense many of the Minnesota Democratic leaders are putting into the Humphrey campaign. Governor Orville Freeman, Representative John A. Blatnik, and Lieutenant Governor Karl Rolvaag have become familiar figures in Wisconsin. Their unwavering devotion to Humphrey is something this state hasn't seen since the elder LaFollette was in the ascendancy.

So far as campaign help from outsiders is concerned, the Kennedy operation is largely a family affair. His sisters and brothers have been extremely active. The teas and coffee hours with a member of the family present, which have worked so successfully in Massachusetts, have been transplanted to Wisconsin on a massive scale.



Herblock in the Washington Post

"Relax—Maybe I'll Pick Your Presidential Candidate for You."

A casual survey of the sources of voter strength of each candidate reveals that Humphrey has substantially greater strength among the articulate and influential labor leaders, though the Kennedy forces have been strong enough to block official endorsement of the Minnesotan by the state AFL-CIO. How the rank and file of labor will divide is less clear. This is also true of farm organizations, particularly the Farmers Union, which has looked upon the Minnesota Senator as "the farmers' Senator from the Midwest." Humphrey knows farmers' problems and talks about them in their language. Kennedy often seems ill at ease with the subject and with them.

* * *

There is evidence that Kennedy will benefit from the vote of a large number of Republicans voting in the Democratic column. Many Republicans will cross over because there is no contest in their own party. (Wisconsin law requires no party registration, permits voters to choose either party in the primary as well as general election.) Some observers suggest that if the Wisconsin primary gives Kennedy the momentum he needs to win the nomination at the convention, the Republicans of Wisconsin will have named the Democratic candidate.

There is one view, however, that Humphrey, too, may benefit from Republican votes in the Democratic primary. The Republican crossover may be more Machiavellian than philosophical—in other words, mischief-bent Republicans, some observers believe, will vote for Humphrey because they regard him as the candidate least likely to get the nomination.

There is little dispute that Catholics will vote for Kennedy overwhelmingly. (Wisconsin is about thirty-five percent Catholic, with the greatest concentration in heavily Democratic Milwaukee.) To counter this religious advantage as much as possible, prominent Minnesota Catholics like Senator Eugene McCarthy and Minnesota National Committeeman Gerald Heany are spending considerable time in the state.

It is not unlikely that the contest will be decided by Democrats who want neither of these two men as the candidate for 1960. A poll of Democrats completed recently by Representative Robert Kastenmeier in the Second Congressional District (Madison) revealed Adlai Stevenson a strong first choice, with Humphrey running six per cent behind in second place, and Kennedy following eight per cent behind Stevenson in third place.

Humphrey, it is generally agreed, has a better chance to get the Stevenson vote because there is a closer ideological kinship and, more important, because many of the Stevenson followers are well aware that the best chance to get their idol's name before the convention is to slow Kennedy down in Wisconsin and prevent him from executing his blitz strategy at the convention. Most Stevenson backers are working diligently for Humphrey. A smaller number of Democrats whose hearts belong to Stevenson are backing Kennedy as the candidate whose glamour would give the party its best chance of defeating the detested Richard Nixon in November.

Wisconsin's Democratic leaders are about evenly divided in their allegiance. Governor Nelson and Senator William Proxmire have remained strictly neutral. Lieutenant Governor Philleo Nash, who is considered "Truman's man in Wisconsin," is for Humphrey. Representative Lester Johnson, whose district adjoins Minnesota, is also behind Humphrey, as is State Senator Carl Thompson, former national committeeman. National Committeeman Herman Jessen is for Humphrey and National Committeewoman Vel Phillips is for Kennedy. State Chairman Patrick Lucey, Madison Mayor Ivan Nestingen, Attorney General John Reynolds, and Representative Clement Zablocki are among those supporting Kennedy.

If recent history is an accurate yardstick the outcome will have little positive impact on the convention decision. It is true, of course, that a defeat in Wisconsin has sometimes stopped a Presidential hopeful dead in his tracks; a severe defeat would almost certainly rule Humphrey out of the race, while a similar fate could wreck the Kennedy bandwagon's dash for a quick decision. It may be worth recalling, however, that in the last twenty years the national conventions of both parties have selected a winner of Wisconsin's early primary contest only once.

Those Doubting Asians

by HELEN MEARS

ONE EVENING recently I was at home brooding about international relations. Just before leaving on one of his good will tours President Eisenhower had made a statement which kept ringing through my mind. He had said that his "mission" was to try to clear up some misunderstandings about our national aims. "I think," he had said, "that we can conclude, from all of the reports that come to us from abroad, that there is a great deal of doubt remaining in the minds of many people, including our allies and other friends, as to America's real sincerity in our pursuit of peace." He had gone on to say that he and others had tried to emphasize our pursuit of peace but it still "doesn't seem to come through." What he wanted to do, the President said, was to explain that "our basic aspiration is to search out methods by which peace in the world can be assured with justice for everybody."

This statement was in my mind as I read my New York *Times*. There was a report about the "aggressions of Red China" against India, and the *Times* seemed to feel that these Chinese aggressions might open the eyes of the Indian government to the sincerity of our own government's anti-Peking policies. I was pondering this when my Indian friend, Mr. Rau, dropped in. Mr. Rau is a correspondent for several newspapers in India, and he occasionally asks my opinion about some United States policy he finds puzzling, and explains some Indian point of view that similarly puzzles me.

I greeted him by expressing sympathy about the situation along the China-India border. I commented that he would now see that the U.S. government had been right all along about the Chinese Communists, adding that his government would soon see the good sense of accepting the protection of the United States' umbrella.

To my surprise, he bristled. "On the contrary," he said stiffly, "your government's eagerness to hold nuclear umbrellas over Asian peoples may very well be one of the reasons for China's activities along India's border. After all, since your government insists that your great nation needs a defense perimeter stretching across the Pacific, swallowing Japan and Formosa, holding South Korea, and reaching into our neighbors in Southeast Asia, why should it seem so surprising that Peking should feel it needs to create its own defense perimeter, by establishing a few border outposts?"

"Oh, Mr. Rau!" I said in some distress. "You just don't like America."

"I don't like America!" he cried. "You know perfectly well how much I like America and Americans."

"Then why do you always criticize my government's foreign policy, and make excuses for other governments?"

"You know very well I don't do that. You Americans are certainly touchy. You sometimes act as though your foreign policy is a pet poodle. If people like you, they must also like your poodle, even if he chews up our rugs and makes messes in our living room."

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I counted ten, and then said quietly, "I simply don't believe that many Indians feel that way about us. Just remember how warmly you greeted President Eisenhower when he visited you."

Mr. Rau shrugged impatiently. "Of course. We like Ike, too. The point is not personalities, but principles and programs."

* * *

"And what's wrong with our principles and programs? For example, here is how our President summed them up when he explained the message he was taking to India and other countries." I found the President's statement, and read it aloud: "I want to prove that we are not aggressive; that we seek nobody else's territories or possessions; we do not seek to violate anybody else's rights. We are simply trying to be a good partner in this business of searching for peace, which means, in the long run, searching also for methods in which we, the nations, independent nations together, cooperate to find a better life for all of us, and that means politically and materially." I looked up at Mr. Rau. "What's wrong with that?" I challenged.

"Nothing at all, as words, of course. But what we Asians are looking for is deeds. What we criticize in your foreign policy is the fact that your deeds are not worthy of your principles."

"For instance?" I asked.

"Well, the most recent example is that new mutual security treaty with Japan which your government signed in January. It was that, really, I had come to discuss."

I was astonished. There had been very little about this treaty in our daily press or news periodicals; and although I had read about anti-treaty riots in Japan, and some heated debates in the Japanese Diet, the New York *Times* had assured us editorially that the opposition came from a "small and largely pro-Communist minority." I knew that Mr. Rau was not a Communist, or pro-Communist; I knew that he was not anti-Japanese, or anti-American. So what was troubling him?

"What's wrong with that?" I asked. "As I understand it, this new treaty is merely a revision of other treaties and agreements, made at the request of the Japanese government in order to give Japan what our press calls a 'somewhat more equal position.'"

"Exactly," said Mr. Rau. "We Indians are stubborn enough to ask: If Japan now has a 'somewhat more equal' position, what sort of position did she have before that? Would you say that she was a genuinely independent nation, or, instead, your satellite? And what does 'somewhat more equal' really mean? Is Japan now independent, or is she still your satellite? Your government has had military forces and bases in Japanese territory for fifteen years, on terms dictated by the U.S. government. This new treaty gives you the right to keep your forces and bases there for at least another eleven years."

"I do wish you would remember," I interrupted, "that six of those fifteen years were years of Occupation. After all, the Japanese attacked us. We naturally fought back. And naturally our forces stayed on in Japan to disarm their militarists and to reform their militaristic institutions. Then when the U.S. government decided that these objectives had been accomplished, it called a peace treaty conference, in September 1951, and the nations at war with Japan signed a peace treaty ending the war. And because the Japanese government wished it, we also signed a security treaty by which we consented to keep troops and bases there to protect Japan."

Mr. Rau sighed. "I'm sure you believe you have just made a correct summary, but it is an inaccurate and misleading statement. In the first place, the peace treaty and the security treaty were written by John Foster Dulles—at least so he himself told the Japanese. As written, it was so unsatisfactory to the governments of the nations which were Japan's neighbors, and your wartime allies, that not only the U.S.S.R., but India and Burma refused to sign it. No Chinese government signed it, and no Chinese government was even invited to the peace treaty conference. The Indian government felt at the time—and was proved correct—that as a method of achieving peace, such a treaty was defective.

"My government felt that since Japan was an Asian country, and the issue of peace in Asia was so important, the views of the Asian governments should have been respected. But your government ignored them. You may feel that this is ancient history, but your government claims to be bewildered by the fact that the Indian government seems to distrust your intentions in Asia. The Japanese peace treaty is an important factor in that distrust. My government could not believe that a treaty which was bound to produce hostility and distrust among Japan's neighbors could possibly advance the peace and stability of the region. It is clear that the treaty did not contribute to the peace of the area."

"But Mr. Rau, it is neither the United States nor Japan that has been guilty of responsibility for war or threats of war in the Far East. It is the Chinese Communist government, backed by the U.S.S.R."

Mr. Rau frowned: "If you will forgive me, I find your habit of always shifting responsibility onto the Communists one of your least endearing qualities. As I see it, your government's policies were bad policies. The consequences of those bad policies were only what could be expected. So when your bad policies bring about bad consequences your government and you at once disclaim responsibility and charge whatever is wrong is the fault of the Communists. Such an attitude does not encourage us to have confidence in the maturity or wisdom of your government's methods of searching for peace."

* * *

"Very well, for the sake of argument, can you tell me what the Indian ideas were about the treaty which you apparently believe would have been more successful in securing peace in the Far East."

"Of course. I believe I remember them correctly. First, my government believes that international agreements should be honored. It had been agreed at a wartime summit conference that Formosa should be given to China. Your government evaded this commitment, and this evasion has been a major cause of controversy and a constant threat to world peace.

"Second, your government tied your security treaty with Japan to the peace treaty. That is, one of the articles of the peace treaty stated that Japan had asked the United States for a security treaty to come into effect along with the peace treaty. My government objected to this provision because it turned Japan into a United States protectorate. A 'protected' country doesn't control its own foreign policy. It can't be considered an independent sovereign nation. Everybody knew that the Japanese government hadn't been given a free choice to accept or reject the security treaty. Yet at the same time that the U.S. government was turning Japan into a U.S. protectorate, your spokesmen were also declaring that Japan was now a sovereign, equal, independent nation; and insisting, in the words of your then Secretary of State Acheson, that the security treaty was a 'voluntary arrangement between free peoples.' And your then President Truman, and Mr. Dulles, the architect of the treaty, said much the same thing.

* * *

"Now, can't you understand that this sort of double talk arouses doubt about your real intentions? This may shock you, but to many Asians who are interested in these matters, your government's relations with Japan have been, and apparently still are, like the Soviet's relations with its European 'protectorates.'

"There was a third point in the peace treaty that the Indian government criticized. This was a provision that gave the U.S. government the right to hold and administer, as virtual U.S. possessions, several groups of islands south of Japan proper, including Okinawa. My government felt that the U.S government was unjustly seizing these islands as spoils of war. Your own government spokesmen admitted this openly on repeated occasions. For example, in January 1950 Secretary Acheson said flatly that 'the Ryukyu Islands, including Okinawa, are essential parts of the defense perimeter of the Pacific and they must and will be held.'

"Now, my government felt this seizure of Japanese territory was not only contrary to American principles, but that it also set a bad precedent for other nations. If the U.S. government felt free to seize territory for its defense perimeter, why should not other nations do the same?

"I know that it is difficult for an American to see any parallel between your government's policies in the Far East, and Soviet policies in the Far East and in eastern Europe. But we Asian people, who are naturally concerned about what happens in our own living room, must look sharply to see whether in practice your government lives up to its expressed high principles. We see—and how can we ignore it?—that no matter how many times your government spokesmen tell us that you do not want an inch of anybody's territory, and do not seek to violate any nation's rights, you have in fact taken a great deal of Japan's territory, and have violated its rights as a sovereign nation.

"I know that the U.S. government, later on, declared that those southern islands would eventually be returned to Japan; but I also notice that in the meantime you continue to strengthen them as nuclear bastions; you continue to administer them as though they were your own territory; you continue to make statements to the effect that you will hold them 'as long as the international situation makes it necessary.'

"There is a terrible irony here that you Americans refuse to recognize. A short time ago, at a Communist gathering in Hungary, Janos Kadar, the head of the Hungarian Communist government, declared that Soviet troops would remain in Hungary 'as long as the international situation makes it necessary.' American correspondents saw this statement as typical Communist hypocrisy. Yet when the U.S. government spokesmen make the identical statement about U.S. bases in Okinawa, or Japan, these same correspondents accept the U.S. position as merely obvious good sense.

"Your government spokesmen want the Asian governments and peoples to believe that Communist governments lie as a matter of principle, whereas you tell the truth. You want us to believe that Communist governments make international agreements only to break them, while you accept such agreements as sacred obligations. When we are skeptical about such statements you accuse us of being pro-Communist, or anti-American. You seem unwilling to look at the evidence of your own policies, which are the real source of our distrust of your sincerity in the pursuit of peace. If my government is neutralist, as you put it, it is because today we see the world as polarized between two great powers which are quite different in their domestic societies, but which, in their relations with other nations, have as their active principle their own asserted national power."

We sat in silence. Then I began to think aloud.

"Let me see if I understand. You feel that my government professes high ideals which are shared by your government and people. But you feel that my government also proclaims objectives of national military power which directly contradict its high principles. This means that you can't be sure what my government's aims and intentions really are. You want to believe that my government is sincerely searching for peace with justice and freedom, as we put it today. But you also feel that our treaties with Japan did not bring peace to the Japanese, but, instead, turned their country into a military base, and so exposed them to a constant threat of war. I gather that you also feel that, by excluding China from any share in the peacemaking, and by openly taking sides in a Chinese civil war, my government created a situation which has repeatedly threatened major war. Is this what you mean?"

"Yes, that's about it. Your government seems to feel that for a nation to be incorporated into your military system is the same thing as being given peace with justice and freedom, but if you were a Japanese you might feel differently."

* * *

"But, Mr. Rau," I objected, "your discussion entirely leaves out the problem of the Chinese Communist menace."

"I leave it out because my government believes that the problem of Communism in China is a domestic affair of the Chinese people. We believe that your government has no right under international law and international agreements to make a policy of active anti-Communism the basis for your government's Asian alliances. My government does not believe that anti-Communist alliances are legal under the United Nations Charter. On the practical side, my government does not believe that a policy that is openly hostile toward other governments can conceivably advance the peace and stability of Asia.

"For example, as you may know,

both Moscow and Peking at once denounced the revised mutual security treaty with Japan, and declared that it was a provocative act, designed to prevent the lessening of tensions, and intended to prevent solutions for Far Eastern controversies. Even if these charges were wholly baseless, it is still true that a policy which arouses such hostility and suspicion cannot be a sound method of pursuing peace.

"Moreover, the charges are not baseless. The new treaty extends United States control over bases and forces in Japan for at least another eleven years, and it binds Japan to an anti-Communist alliance. It permits the United States to continue to hold the Japanese southern islands as major bases. It obligates the Japanese government to rearm, and pledges further United States help in this project. Your own press openly asserts that your government plans to turn Japan into an arsenal for your anti-Communist policies in Asia. Of course such a policy must seem provocative to Japan's neighbors. And furthermore, it is a policy challenged by many Japanese as unconstitutional under Japanese laws, which, ironically, were written for Japan by Americans as recently as 1946."

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"But, Mr. Rau," I protested, "the security treaty is intended to defend Japan."

"So your government says, but we are not sure we know what it means by 'defend.' It is a fact that your government's policies toward Formosa, and toward Quemoy and Matsu, have repeatedly threatened to provoke war. If your government had gone to war with China over those Chinese islands, Japan would have been involved automatically without one word to say about it. And if war broke out between the United States and China, and possibly the U.S.S.R., too, the ninety-two million Japanese people crowded into their small islands would stand a splendid chance of being totally vaporized. If this is your idea of defense, it is not shared by the Japanese. Your brinkmanship alarmed even the most conservative pro-American governments, and I assure you popular opinion became almost hysterical."

"But I thought the Japanese people wanted us there. Isn't this true?"

"You have to remember that the Japanese were never given a choice. Read Japanese publications, back in 1951, and you'll find that, as they saw it, their only choice was to sign the treaties or remain an occupied country. You'll find the same opinion expressed during discussions last year. Many who argued for the new treaty did so on the grounds that the old treaty was humiliating and unjust, and since the choice was between the old treaty, and a somewhat less humiliating version, the new treaty must be accepted. But the press in general was bitter about it. The evidence is strong that given a real choice the great majority would choose not to belong to any military bloc, and would choose not to re-arm. For example, a poll by the newspaper *Yomiuri* last October reported that fifty per cent of those polled said they believed a neutral policy was the soundest defense. Only twenty-six per cent favored a United States-Japan alliance. And only one per cent favored an alliance with the Chinese-Soviet bloc."

"But hasn't my government helped Japan become a prosperous country? I constantly see headlines about Japan's prosperity and trade boom."

Mr. Rau looked uncomfortable. "I'm afraid," he said, "that such headlines illustrate again an unwillingness, or inability, to look at Asian problems in a realistic way. I, too, see such articles, and I must read them more carefully than you, for the very same reports that begin by extolling Japan's prosperity, give statistics that prove the situation is anything but truly prosperous. The highest figure I saw for Japan's gross national product for last year worked out at less than $340 per person. Yours, if I remember correctly, was around $2,800. The average monthly pay of all workers in Japan last year was given in your press as about $50, and I suspect this is high. There are millions on the thin edge of subsistence. Do you call this prosperity?"

* * *

For a time we were silent. I thought of how many facets of our relations with other people we Americans never even considered. As I tried to find some way of expressing my understanding, Mr. Rau continued.

"You see, your treaty-making with Japan directly concerns the hundreds of millions of human beings whose homelands are in the Far East, and the rest of Asia as well. Your policies for the Japanese tell us what you offer us as protection and prosperity. For protection you seem unable to think of any solutions except those which also assert your own military power and dominance. Such solutions inevitably cause the very situations they are supposed to prevent. As for prosperity, here, too, your solutions seem to be tied in with your military policies. In my opinion, prosperity that depends on military contracts, and jobs in war industries, and money spent by foreign military forces, is not true prosperity. If this is the best you can do, I am afraid that millions of Asians will continue to have doubts about your real sincerity."

As I said goodby to my friend, I was thinking that perhaps the first step for Americans, if we want other people to understand us, is to look more closely at ourselves.

The Two Worlds

Who *doesn't* fight for freedom?

by MILTON MAYER

This is the last of a series of three articles by Milton Mayer, whose recent and extended travels took him and his family not only through the tourist "beat" of Poland and the Soviet Union, but through East Germany, Czechoslovakia, and Hungary as guests of the Protestant churches of those countries. Next month he continues his European report with "The Germans Again."
—THE EDITORS.

WHEN YOU'VE GONE to Svit, you've gone about as far as you can go. You can go a couple of miles farther to Poprad—*it's* on the map—and from there into the Carpathian High Tatra. But that's the end of Czechoslovakia. You're a long, long way from home when you get to Svit, unless, of course, you live in Poprad.

We were Svit's first Americans. Svit is a company town, built right straight up on the Slovakian flats at the foot of the mountains. The Communists are industrializing Slovakia at a pressurized rate—and the pressure is far from gentle—because the Slovakian land will support only a third of its people. I am sorry to have to report that until 1948 the other two thirds either had to get out somehow or live somehow—or die somehow. That's Slovakia's recollection of a thousand years of feudalism, capitalism, and, between 1919 and 1938, democracy.

Svit was a pre-Communist company town, though, built and owned by Bata, if I remember right, the outfit that exported good dirt-cheap shoes made by good dirt-cheap labor. It's still a company town, but the Republic of Czechoslovakia owns the company. (It's a textile mill now.) And the labor isn't as cheap as it used to be.

The hotel in Svit—there is only one—is less than fifty years old and not at all bad. It's five times as good as it would be in a comparable American company town and ten times as good as it would be in England. It wasn't built for tourists, though; not for American tourists.

A lot of things don't work, and when you ring the bell, the bell doesn't work. You carry your own bags and shine your own shoes. Everybody's nice. But there's nobody to snap your fingers at. That's the way it is in the Communist world, outside the tourist centers. They've got a big do-it-yourself movement on. Me, I like to jingle the change in my pocket and snap my fingers and say, "Boy, take this," or, "Boy, bring that."

The man in the room next door—not only in Svit, but in Brezno and Modra and Zvolen—was wearing overalls. I supposed that he was a skilled mechanic. The next day was Sunday and he was still wearing overalls, so I supposed that he was an atheist; the Christians were wearing Sunday clothes, and they were a clear majority of the townspeople. I supposed that he might be a member of the Communist Party, to have had technical training, but I didn't find that out. What I did find out from him was that his father never saw the inside of a hotel—or of a room with a floor—no matter what party he joined.

I found out something else about him. I found out that he isn't fighting for freedom.

Who *doesn't* fight for freedom? If I don't and you don't and we don't, you can be sure that the man in Svit doesn't. He fought. He fought in the Slovak uprising against the Nazis in 1944. That was for freedom from the foreign tyrant, which isn't the same thing as freedom pure.

Have we decided what freedom is, and, when we have decided what it is, where to put it on our shopping list? If we say that freedom means to do what we want to do, within reason, and not to do what we don't want to do, within reason, then we have to decide whether political dictatorship is the only impediment to freedom. But the dictatorship of hunger is said to be a hard dictator, too. It dictates to a man that he must crawl and fawn and lie and steal and murder and work as a furnace man in a Nazi death camp and join whatever party promises bread or gives him a crust.

"He discovered the simple fact"—this is Engels at Marx's grave— "that human beings must have food, drink, clothing, and shelter, first of all, before they can interest themselves in politics, science, art, religion." *Discovered*—after five or six thousand years of human discovery. But man had known it all along. The Son of Man said that those who fed the hungry would go to heaven and those who didn't would go to hell. Aristotle was old hat when he said that starving men can not be interested in virtue, and Napoleon was old tricorne when he said that an army travelled on its stomach.

What Marx discovered, or, more properly, argued, was that freedom itself—and science and art and religion—had no real meaning apart from the condition of a man's stomach. "The production of the immediately requisite material means of subsistence, and therewith the existing phase of development of a nation or an epoch, constitute the foundation upon which the state institutions, the legal outlooks, the artistic, and even the religious ideas, are built up. It implies that these latter must be explained out of the former, whereas the former have usually been explained as issuing from the latter."

But we believe—you and I—in unchanging absolutes and eternal verities. We believe that it is wrong for the poor to steal bread from the rich. We believe that to let the poor man off is to give him mercy, not justice. Justice, the same for all men everywhere, says, "Thou shalt not steal." Mercy is enjoined upon us by an absolute and unchanging God.

That's what we believe, isn't it? If we didn't we'd have no quarrel with Marx, would we? American Jews who used to say that just and unjust are relative, and that what's wrong in one place is right in another, and that morals are only customs, and that there are no absolutes, and that man is the measure of all things—these American Jews discovered a quarter-century ago that some things are evil even if local custom, or even German law, proclaims them good. American gentiles were, as usual, a little slower in getting the idea.

But it's the big idea on which our social order is erected, and without it you have Marxism with only one absolute: Bread bakes the man and all his institutions and ideas. Freedom is freedom to eat, and only those who are eating high on the hog think that it is freedom of speech and press and assembly and worship. I wouldn't go into this elementary matter at all here, except that the technician in Svit went into it with me. He studies Marx in his overalls (and his children in their rompers). He is fighting for freedom to eat. "After that," he said, "we shall see."

* * *

Among those present in eastern Europe who do not fight for freedom are the people who are tied to the land. And these are most of the people—the middle class was always small—in the recently unindustrialized Communist countries. Hungary was Austria's breadbasket for a millenium, and Slovakia was Hungary's breadbasket for a millenium, and Poland was everybody's breadbasket (including Sweden's) for a millenium, and China and India were England's dish of tea.

To be tied to the land meant, and means, to be tied, "progressively," by serfdom, sharecropping, and perpetual debt. Now, a man has to have something to *call* his own. I have never met a dirt farmer anywhere who didn't like to wiggle his toes in the dirt and say, "It's mine, my very own." If you told him it was the landlord's or the bank's and not his at all, he spat (a sure sign that he was thinking hard) and said, "I've been on this land for two hundred years. It's mine." It's the land, of course, that's been on him, but there's no use arguing.

If the landlord enables him to improve "his" land—good. If the state is that landlord—good. But for a man to come from Belgrade or Bratislava or Krakow with idiotic and ruinous ideas like growing corn where the potato farmer has always grown potatoes—always smaller potatoes—or, worse yet, rye for a cover crop when he doesn't use rye, or, worst of all, nothing at all for two years and letting the land rest, that's bad. He resists to protect "his" land.

Here is the heart of peasant resistance. The Communist dictatorship everywhere breaks it in order to increase production. At the same time collectivization gives him the use of machinery and lets him keep "his" land. You tell him the land is actually the collective's, or the state's, and he says, "I farm it. My ancestors farmed it. My children will farm it. What's the difference between you"—to the American farmer—"and me? It's *using* it that makes it mine."

It's the rye instead of potatoes that he fights; freedom is freedom to plant those potatoes. The Communists fight him back—no freedom to plant those potatoes—and he has to give up. He's still against the system—or against system. "First," said a Slovak peasant, "you're not your own boss any more. You're always taking orders. You're working for somebody else and doing it *his* way. An *expert*," with a sneer. "Sure, you have no more responsibility, and that's good when it's bad times. But always taking orders, that's bad."

"Second," he went on, "they say that the machinery makes the work easier. It doesn't. It makes this job or that job easier, but then they work you all the harder. You used to have a little time to loaf in the winter. Now you work all the time. Everything's *organized*. It's gotten to be just like the city, I guess. I've never been to the city."

This man doesn't like Marxism, and Marxism doesn't like him. Marxism wants to industrialize. It has to. Too many low-production farms in these old peasant lands, not enough factories. More hammer, less sickle's the word. The proletarian worker—the man without property or the illusion of property—is the man Marxism likes. Change is all right with him. He'll fight for it.

For freedom? I asked a steel boss in the Ruhr—where everybody's rich now except the unemployed and the pensioners—what the Dusseldorf worker is thinking these days.

"It depends," said the boss, "on whether he's got a job."

"And if he has a job?"

"Nobody knows what the worker thinks," said the steel boss. "Nobody ever has, and nobody ever will, including," with a gesture eastward, "them."

* * *

Another man who doesn't fight for freedom is the man who is tied to his own country no matter what kind of country it is or what kind of government it has. Tied to his own country, and to his own language, and his own traditions, and his own religion, and his own friends. No pioneer. No get-up-and-go. That's nearly everybody everywhere. And in the poor countries of immobile people, it isn't even a country; it's a neighborhood or a village. Here's where the cemetery is, where his ancestors (and some of his descendants) are buried.

An American columnist says he was just in Lidice, and an old lady had a picture of Stalin above her bed. They always had the Crucifix there, he says she said, but the Crucifix isn't allowed any more. The truth isn't in the American columnist—unless there are two Lidices in Czechoslovakia. When the Crucifix isn't allowed above her bed in Lidice any more, the old lady will get up and go. Not until then. Until then, she's tied.

I met a Jewish woman in the most anciently anti-Semitic of all the Communist countries. I brought her presents from her only brother, in western Europe. She is widowed and alone. I was—on his behalf—to try to persuade her to come to live with him and his family. She enjoyed the gifts, but she didn't break down and weep the way people did right after the war. She was well dressed, and when I asked her what she needed, she said, "Nothing."

I asked her about food. "No," she said, "in our office we all eat in the company dining room and we pay sixteen cents for the midday dinner," and she recited the menu. "I'm not even hungry," she said, "when I go home."

"Your brother would really like

to have you there," I said, "and he has a lovely home."

"I know," she said, "I was there on my holiday last year. I wish he'd write me more often. He's all I have."

"Why don't you go there?" I said. And this was the answer of the woman who'd just said, "He's all I have.": "Because all my friends are here. Besides," she added, "my husband is buried here and we've always lived here. You know how it is." I know how it is. So do you. No fight—or even flight—for freedom unless you've got to fight or you've got to flee. And exactly who has to?

You stay where you are, or where your husband is buried. And you stay because you stay. And the longer you stay, the longer you go on staying. What's the government got to do with it?

Around here we say that the most stable personalities are those that change their residence the least. Around there it's the same idea, only samer. I met an Italian in a cave in the Futa Pass. An old Italian in a still older cave. He was living alone there, and I asked him why. "I've always lived here," he said. "In this cave?" "No. Here," and he gestured around the little defile. "Three times in the wars my house was burned and three times I rebuilt it. No more. Now I live in this cave." I didn't ask him why he didn't get out of that ravaged defile in that ravaged pass. I knew. So do you. No fight for freedom.

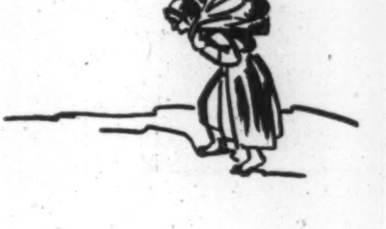
It's that way in the world of the poor, where, in Wenceslaus Place, the elegant old main street of elegant old Prague, there are used shoelaces for sale, and always were. Communism has revolutionized the lot of woman by giving her equal access to every job in the city, high and low, that a man has; in the country, Communist and non-Communist, she has her old equality as a beast of burden still. In Poland one rainy Sunday afternoon you see one of these career girls, barefoot in the muddy road, with a load of wood on her back that would break your own. A crummy old surrey comes up behind her and passes her. A huge priest occupies the whole of the back seat, in vestments of tattered splendor; a barefoot chauffeur is on the box behind the bony horse. None of these four birds of passage—the horse is the fourth bird—lifts his head.

How often does man actually confront the state—and the issues of freedom—in the world of the rich? At his bridge game or his golf game? In his home or his office? At the Rotary Club or the neighbor's? No, indeed. Unless he's a criminal or a soldier his actual confrontation of the state occurs once a year, on the 15th of April. The state wants his money. Otherwise it lets him alone and he lets it alone. How unobtrusive it is, except on the 15th of April, in the land of the rich!

What makes you think that it is much more obtrusive than that in the land of the poor? There, as here, the state means money, unless you're a criminal or a soldier. And there money means shoes, "the immediately requisite material means of subsistence." The poor man there—remember, most men are poor there—is a Marxist without knowing it or even knowing that he isn't. His politics, science, art, religion are, as Marx would say, built on his shoes; at least until he has shoes enough and good enough, and maybe then, too. You and I have shoes enough; on what do you and I build our politics, science, art, religion?

Here in eastern Europe—and in Asia and in Africa and in Latin America—is the totalitarian state. But the term "totalitarian" is misleading. Its area in the life of this poor man is small. It is too big for his comfort and convenience, but no matter how little it was it would still be too big. That government is best, he says, as he hands over his taxes, which governs least. He's dissatisfied, but he always was.

He's dissatisfied because he hasn't as much of what he'd like to eat as he wants. "But that's nothing," says Maria Comberti, who knows the perpetually very poor. When everyone's hungry, it's nothing. It is only when some are overfed that hunger is hard. So he's only dissatisfied—always grumbling about the long hours and the low wages and the hard work—but he always was. And the fellow in the Declaration of Independence tells us not to mistake his grumbling for revolutionary redeye: "All experience hath shewn that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed."



It will have to get a lot worse before *he* fights for freedom, and the fact is that it's getting a little bit better all the time. His memory goes back to after-the-war and no further. And so would yours and mine if we'd been there and if we were he.

Totalitarian control of the mass media—sure. But what does he read the paper to read or turn on the radio to hear? What do you? What do you think he is—an egghead? We saw an East German movie about the Chennault buccaneers who flew (for money) for the French in Indo-China. It caricatured the Americans indecently. But it was a rip-roaring movie. At the end came the all-out propaganda plug for the peace-loving democracies building socialism while the atomic imperialist race-hating warmongers were wrecking the world, but as soon as the plug began the audience was moving toward the door. "They don't stay for that," said our local friend. "They just want to see a good movie."

Red tape—sure. Meetings and lectures you're expected to attend—sure. Contributions you're expected to make—sure. You don't see *me* fighting for freedom from the Parent Teachers Association or the Community Chest. Censorship—sure. But what are they censoring that *I'll* fight to read? Suspicion—sure, pervasive suspicion. But what would I be doing, with my load of wood on my back, to make them suspicious of me? Rigidly restricted freedom to travel—you bet. But who's got the price of a ticket?

I don't mean that it isn't tough. It's very tough. It isn't a free society, not by half. But it isn't that tough that Joseph J. Doakes is going to man the barricades. That's all. And it dosn't pretend to be a free society, so there isn't so much hypocrisy as you might think. "Democracy" there means shoes. "The proletarian dictatorship," said Lenin, "is the bridge to the socialist society." "The idea," said the technician in Svit, "is that it's a bridge to something. We never had a dictatorship that was."

The Affluence Peddlers

by MARGARET HALSEY

We have been hearing a great deal recently about fin-tail cars and too much comfort; but for all the sermonizing there seem to be no signs of a shift in the direction of plain living and high thinking. Nor will any such shift take place unless we begin to look beyond the more obvious drawbacks of advertising and consuming innocuously discussed in the editorials.

The market society does not rely solely on the ubiquitous commercial to influence behavior. It has more than that string to its bow. For instance, the kind of people who come boiling to the top of the social brew—the kind of people who become celebrities—sometimes have a good deal to do with shaping national attitudes.

If we have at the moment an American climate of moral slackness, physical comfort, and general self-indulgence, it is in part because a succession of celebrities have helped to put across self-indulgence as a desirable quality—at the expense, of course, of self-discipline and responsibility. Among the best-known and most influential of these celebrities have been Charles Van Doren, Whittaker Chambers, Dwight D. Eisenhower, Richard M. Nixon, and the late Senator Joseph R. McCarthy.

Occupying the limelight for longer or shorter periods—and for apparently the most diverse and unconnected of reasons—these headliners nevertheless have all had one basic element in common. They were symbols thrown off by the culture in its "one increasing purpose" of selling things—and of smoothing the path of the seller by spotlighting self-indulgence as a way of life.

Perhaps at this point "self-indulgence" needs defining. The appeal to it is evident enough in the advertisements. *Fly now, pay later . . . For only pennies a day . . . You can't afford not to own our elasticised cemetery plot . . .* This kind of persuasion has had a receptive audience. In fact, well beyond the area of the market place, self-indulgence has become so visible as to be almost not visible, like the Purloined Letter.

Where do you find it?

In the cadets at West Point cheating on exams. In basketball players taking bribes to toss games. In conflict-of-interest cases. In the dependence on tranquilizers and the resort to marijuana. In Nixon on his South American trip, jeopardizing the dignity and "face" of his own and several other countries merely to make a point about his personal courage.

You find it in "private luxury, public squalor." In business men declining government assignments, or working only briefly in Washington and then returning to their private concerns. In the electorate which does not like the "image" of leadership and prefers the "image" of an undemanding folksiness. In the golden cesspool of television. In President Eisenhower ignoring Little Rock—or crying "I need him!" when probity demands that he get rid of Sherman Adams.

Self-indulgence is an outlook rather than a creed, and an outlook always carefully rationalized and prettily disguised. Hence it is never promoted under its own name; but the people upon whom celebrityhood is bestowed often contribute substantially to getting the message across. Their contribution is frequently not recognized because—in our popularity-obsessed culture—it is not generally understood that you do not have to *admire* a headliner to be influenced by him.

A man may know that nothing in the world could have induced him to think as Charles Van Doren thought and do as Charles Van Doren did. But by the time that man has seen Charles Van Doren's name in every paper he picks up for two weeks; by the time he has heard Charles Van Doren's story reported on every news broadcast he turns on; by the time he has listened to Charles Van Doren discussions at every social gathering he attends; by the time he has been kept posted on Van Doren even after the downgraded Mr. Chips has retired to comparatively private life; by the time this process has been gone through, that man is closer to thinking and acting like Charles Van Doren than he would have been if he had never heard of the young instructor.

In what way?

In this way—that conduct which was formerly not only unthinkable but unfamiliar has become, if still unthinkable, at least familiar. Of two potential barriers against such conduct, one has been broken down. Van Doren ultimately, to be sure, joins Whittaker Chambers in oblivion; but the barrier does not go up again.

* * *

In a similar way, President Eisenhower has clearly influenced a great many people who do not admire him. Liberals could and did laugh mockingly when the Great Crusader turned out to be just a middle-class, white-collar Community Chest chairman with a predilection for golf. But despite the mockery, an appalling amount of Eisenhower softness, slackness, and inertia rubbed off on the liberal movement.

You do not have to admire a celebrity to be influenced by him, as the decade roughly spanned by Whittaker Chambers and Charles Van Doren clearly shows. It is perhaps ironically appropriate that the Fifties, which were in a manner of

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speaking ushered in by Whittaker Chambers, should have been ushered out by Charles Van Doren.

Complicated political overtones surround Chambers, and those overtones tend to obscure the fact that as an "image" he has had a significance transcending politics. Chambers' name may have disappeared from the news, but in Charles Van Doren he had a successor. Though separated in point of time by ten years, the two heroes of modern Congressional investigation reveal an astonishing number of parallels.

* * *

Not only did many eggheads, intellectuals, and teachers feel bitterly that what Van Doren was guilty of, in their terms, was treason; but both men were self-confessed perjurers who acknowledged their wrongdoing in a blaze of publicity and with studiously composed *mea culpas*. Both started out with one story and ended up with a radically different one. And both postponed confession to a point well beyond where a sensitive conscience would seem to have demanded it, Chambers waiting until his espionage was outlawed by the statute of limitations and Van Doren until exposure by others was inevitable.

But most importantly, from the point of view of effective social symbolism, both managed in a quiet way to end up in an improved situation financially. Fortified with emoluments from *Time*, Random House, the *Saturday Evening Post* and the Book-of-the-Month Club, Chambers retired to a Maryland farm. Van Doren at last report still had his house on Bleeker Street; he has had a promotion at the small magazine where he works; and the Cumaean Sibyl is not saying flat out that he will never again get a chance to resume his chosen profession of teaching.

Chambers and Van Doren were not only penitents—they were *solvent* penitents, unthreatened by prison bars and babbling happily to a wide public about their inmost thoughts. The highly publicized figure of the solvent penitent is a unique creation of our time. That figure serves an important social purpose, even though the purpose is not articulately or consciously held. The end effect of the solvent penitent is, without disturbing moral conventions, to give permission for self-indulgence as a key motif of living.

There is an old Spanish proverb to the effect that God says, "Take what you want and pay for it." The unverbalized but powerful message that comes to us via the solvent penitents is just the opposite. That message reads: "Take what you want. You won't have to pay for it."

* * *

In the time that elapsed between Chambers and Van Doren, the cause of affluence did not have to struggle along unaided. It had, among others, three first-magnitude celebrities to convey its silent but saturative message, all of whom had become household words via the political route. The most outstanding, of course, was Dwight Eisenhower.

Shrewd observers realized early that President Eisenhower was about as close to asceticism as Hermann Goering was to St. Francis of Assisi. He let General George C. Marshall down. He could not tolerate criticism. But it was not these things which made the President so commanding a signpost pointing to the easy, irresponsible way of doing things. These data, while they showed that the Chief Executive was a natural-born affluence peddler, did not sink deeply into the public consciousness.

What made Eisenhower the persuasive, compelling, and irresistible symbol for a consuming society was the fact that he so clearly and visibly took what he wanted and did not pay for it. He took the bubbletop car, the plaudits and the smiling crowds, the herd of black Angus, the cheery confraternity of millionaires, the incessant vacations, the silken cushioning of the one-party press; and he did not pay for them as the perquisites of power are usually paid for in a democracy—with a merciless burden of work, a crushing sense of responsibility, an ineluctable loneliness, and the slings and arrows of a hostile opposition. On the contrary, compared with the easeful vistas opened up by Ike's day-to-day performance, the Big Rock Candy Mountain was a chilling, killing, blizzard-breeding Matterhorn.

The job of breaking up old-fashioned Puritan habits in the interest of a limitless market was one task that Eisenhower could certainly have handled alone. He did not, however, have to. Paradoxically enough, it was the hard-driving, hag-ridden Nixon who came persuasively into the act, and he did it with the Checkers speech.

Nixon adherents sometimes ask in genuine perplexity why liberals cannot forget the Checkers speech. "It was so long ago," the Nixonites murmur. But the Checkers speech has acquired its own particular kind of im-

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mortality because it was a landmark in the history of seduction. Never has the brotherhood of the slack-fibred been more masterfully rallied. Never has the implicit attitude of consumerdom come through more ringingly than it did in that performance:

"Take what you want, you won't have to pay for it. Black is white and white is black. Ethics is a picnic and morality a mere delightful drunkenness. Once more out of the breach, dear friends."

Small wonder that telegrams, telephone calls, and letters poured into Republican headquarters by the thousands urging a Nixon candidacy.

In a market society organized as ours currently is, self-indulgence must unavoidably be cherished and rewarded and held up as a social ideal. But since no one ever thinks of himself as self-indulgent, or even as approving of self-indulgence, there cannot be any organized effort—either open or conspiratorial—to cultivate such an atmosphere. All the nudges in that direction have to be oblique, which results in a great prevalence of things not being called by their right names.

Even people who loathed him and were sickened by his career sometimes still refer to the late Senator McCarthy, with a grudging admiration, as "tough." But if toughness means the ability not to crack up under pressure, then the tough man in the McCarthy trajectory was Owen Lattimore. (Lattimore was described by the press as "truculent," though what else the Fourth Estate expected a man to be in those circumstances is hard to imagine.) Had Senator McCarthy really been tough, he would not—upon being cast down from the pinnacle—have departed this life so quickly by the self-loving, self-warming alcohol route.

It is generally assumed that, in terms of social dynamics, McCarthy's role was to intimidate liberals so that they would not sign petitions or make humanitarian gestures unto the third and fourth generation; and this objective the Senator achieved. But McCarthy had an additional function, culturally speaking. He stood up on the floor of the Senate, protected by Congressional immunity, and sprayed baseless and unsubstantiated charges at innocent people. And the press, which could have buried him on the financial page, gave him headlines for, quite literally, years.

"Take what you want, you won't have to pay for it."

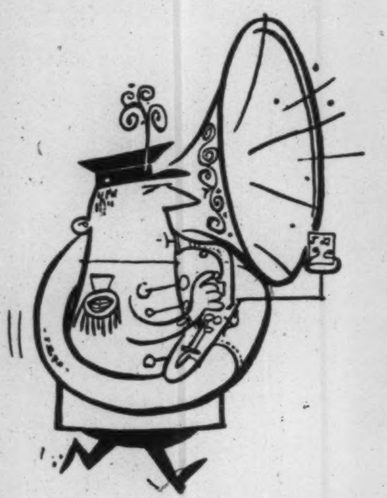
The invitation to self-indulgence could hardly have been spelled out more clearly.

* * *

For a long time now, intelligent people have been trying to cope with the slippery, evasive phenomenon of "popularity," "success," and the celebrity. Charles Van Doren, it was said, was known to ninety-seven million people. This is a "fact," and ought somehow, one felt, to be assimilated or placed in a suitable frame of reference. Could it, for instance, in any way be interpreted as an extension of "democracy" and therefore a good thing?

But the celebrity phenomenon becomes a little simpler if it is considered that there is more than one kind of celebrity. There are the ones who work *upon* the society, and the ones who—despite all appearances of drive, opportunism, or outside circumstances—are the malleable creatures *of* the society. These latter owe their elevation, basically, to the fact that they either embody and dramatize certain attitudes the society finds needful or are very skillful in evoking such attitudes.

A General Marshall is a celebrity because of indisputable achievement—an Adlai Stevenson because of a consistently meaningful approach to life. The Affluence Peddlers are mere reflections in a mirror. With them, there can be no question of a reaffirmation of values, either in politics, literature, education, or anywhere else. An echo in a ravine cannot sing the *Liebestod*, and the Affluence Peddlers will not, because they cannot, give us anything except more of what we have too much of already.



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The Progressive Madison, Wisconsin

Capital Punishment Is on the Way Out

by DANIEL M. BERMAN

SEVERAL STATES, notably California as a consequence of the celebrated Chessman case, have reviewed the old controversy over the abolition or retention of capital punishment.

Until last year, there were only six states—Maine, Michigan, Minnesota, North Dakota, Rhode Island, and Wisconsin—which did not provide for the death penalty. These states have now been joined by Delaware, while the admission of Alaska and Hawaii to the Union adds two more to the ranks. New Jersey and New York are giving the problem serious attention. And there are strong reform movements in several states besides California—Connecticut, Illinois, Pennsylvania, and Tennessee.

Despite the widespread prevalence of capital punishment on the statute books, it is a curious fact that, in practice, the death penalty in many states has been gradually curtailed almost to the point of abolition. In 1958, for example, there were fewer executions than in any other year for which federal statistics were compiled. The decrease has been sharp. In the 1930's, the average year saw 150 criminals pay the extreme penalty; by 1956 and 1957, the number had fallen to 65, and in 1959 to 49.

If courts have demonstrated increasing reluctance to impose death sentences, state legislatures have shown no similar qualms. In some jurisdictions, lawmakers have actually enlarged the list of capital crimes. As a consequence, there are at present on the books 24 offenses which in theory could be punished by death but which in practice never have been—including dueling, teaching a woman how to perform an abortion, and homicide while committing criminal syndicalism. And not every sovereignty which can impose the death penalty chooses to do so. Thus, only 16 of the 43 jurisdictions retaining capital punishment actually used it in 1959, and half the executions took place in four states—California, Arkansas, Florida, and Georgia.

Although theory still lags behind practice, the trend seems clear: capital punishment is on the way out. Perhaps the principal reason for its demise is the modern shift in emphasis from retribution to rehabilitation as the goal of penology. The present tendency is to attempt, first and foremost, to remove the conditions in which crime tends to breed. When a crime is committed, its perpetrator becomes a logical subject for study to determine whether he can be made fit for reinstatement in free society. Viewed in this light, the death penalty is an anachronistic relic of retributive justice.

There is, however, an even more compelling reason why capital punishment has been losing ground. It has failed as a deterrent of crime. The death penalty as a weapon against major offenses seems good common sense: the greater the crime, the greater the threat required to deter it. This seemingly common sense theory, however, has broken down in the light of experience.

DANIEL M. BERMAN, assistant professor of political science at Washington College, was recently awarded a Congressional Fellowship by the American Political Science Association. His articles have appeared in The Nation, The New Republic, and various legal journals.

As the number of executions falls, the murder rate might be expected to increase, if the deterrent theory is valid. Yet it has gone steadily down. In 1933, for example, when 160 executions were carried out in the United States the murder rate was 9.47 per 100,000; by 1957, the number of executions had sunk to 65, but the murder rate had dropped, also—to 5.1 per 100,000. When proponents of capital punishment claim that the decline in the murder rate would have been even more rapid if there had been more executions, they exchange the solid ground of provable fact for the wild blue yonder of speculation.

States which have eliminated capital punishment have lower murder rates than those retaining it. The abolitionist states, Maine and Rhode Island, have a lower rate than does New England as a whole; Michigan and Wisconsin fare better than the East North Central states generally; and Minnesota and North Dakota are well below the average for the West North Central states. In striking contrast, the states with the largest number of executions continue to be afflicted with a disproportionately large share of the murders.

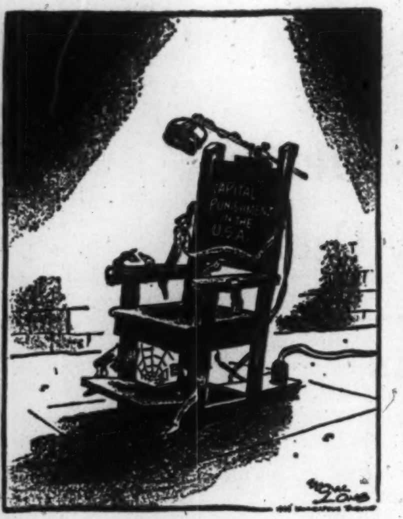
* * *

States and nations which have scrapped the death penalty have generally seen no increase in the incidence of murder. A British Royal Commission, after a four-year study of the problem, concluded: "There is no clear evidence in any of the figures we have examined that abolition of capital punishment has led to an increase of the homicide rate, or that its reintroduction has led to a fall."

It is difficult to study facts like these without concluding that apparently capital punishment is totally ineffective as a deterrent of murder. Perhaps the explanation is simply that fear of punishment will often dissuade people from committing minor crimes for which the motive may be trivial, but not from major crimes, for which the motive is often overwhelming. Certainly knowledge of consequences does not enter into the "thinking" of a psychopath. Neither can it stay the hand of the man who kills in a wild fit of rage. The only class of murderers for whom capital punishment could have much deterrent value is the professional gunman—and we have perversely robbed the death penalty of precisely the quality which might make it somewhat effective with this group: certainty that it will be imposed on the malefactor.

Only about one per cent of those convicted of intentional homicide are obliged to walk the last mile. With odds of more than one hundred-to-one in his favor, why should the professional criminal hesitate? In addition, we have made the deterrent even less effective by painstakingly attempting to make executions more "humane." Surely we are guilty of the epitome of inconsistency in retaining the death penalty because of its deterrent threat while searching for swifter and more painless methods of administering it.

Thus the statistics, buttressed by logic, indicate the futility of capital punishment as a deterrent. But there is an additional, tragically ironical possibility to consider: the existence of the death penalty may actually tend to boost the murder rate. A disturbing indication of this was furnished by the British, who began an 18-month suspension of the death penalty at the end of 1955. During the moratorium, the Home Office reports, the number of murders was almost ten per cent below what it had been during the preceding year and a half. And, during the 18 months after the hangman's vacation ended, the number of murders jumped more than 25 per cent. The experience of most other abolitionist countries and states also indicates that there may be a perverse contagion between executions and capital crimes.


CAPITAL PUNISHMENT IN THE U.S.A.

Long in the Minneapolis Tribune

A Real Antique

The reasons are by no means clear. Capital punishment, by diminishing respect for human life and by glorifying the killer and his deed, may actually break down formidable barriers to murder. How else can one interpret the common phenomenon of innocent men confessing to murders? The researches of Dr. William F. Graves of California are even more disturbing. Dr. Graves' study of homicides and executions in three California counties over a ten-year period led to this startling discovery: the number of murders was inordinately high for every day on which an execution took place.

If explanations for this possible correlation between capital punishment and murder are difficult, there is nothing obscure about another fact concerning the death penalty: it is used far more frequently against Negroes than against whites. From 1930 to 1958, with whites composing 90 per cent of the population, more than half the executions in the United States were of Negroes, according to official statistics of the Federal Bureau of Prisons. The figures are especially horrifying with regard to executions for rape. Seven Southern states which doomed 78 Negroes for the offense have never put a white man to death for rape although many have been convicted.

The use of capital punishment as an instrument of race hatred is only part of a larger problem. Clarence Darrow put his finger on it when he predicted that no rich man would ever be executed. Warden Lewis E. Lawes of Sing Sing, who led 150 men to the electric chair, testified that the forecast was accurate. "All were poor and most of them were friendless," he reported. None could afford a good lawyer.

But the class implications of capital punishment are something of a peripheral issue. There are other, even more relevant, arguments which are helping the abolitionist cause:

The wrong man is sometimes convicted. Governor Edmund S. Muskie of Maine has cited the hanging of an "entirely innocent" man as the principal reason for his state's abolition of capital punishment in 1887. Rhode Island abolished it under similar circumstances in 1852. It is, of course, only natural that mistakes are occasionally made. But when the victim is still alive, some sort of restitution can be attempted.

In states where death is the punishment for crimes like kidnapping and armed robbery, the offender has nothing to lose by committing murder in order to liquidate the witnesses.

Capital punishment makes jury selection difficult, since many prospective jurymen do not sanction the death penalty.

As knowledge of the facts spreads, the cause of abolition advances. On a piecemeal, state-by-state basis, this country appears to be joining the 33 nations which have concluded that the death penalty should be discarded.

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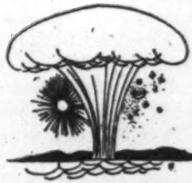


The Case for Disarmament

by JOHN SWOMLEY, JR.

Soviet Premier Nikita Khrushchev's address to the United Nations last September made disarmament a subject of renewed discussion and hope. It was at a moment of stalemate in the international scene, and after a long record of failure to achieve even a measure of disarmament, that the Soviet Premier made his dramatic proposal for the world-wide elimination of armaments.

The proposal was hailed immediately by those who saw in it the hope of ending war and shifting the struggle between East and West to a non-military competition. Some saw it as an indication the Russians were ready to renounce direct military control over Eastern Europe if the West were prepared to abandon its military control over colonies, and its bases scattered throughout the world. In the underdeveloped world it was viewed as the one realistic way to release the billions of dollars and rubles and pounds and francs needed for construction and economic development.

Only a day before the Khrushchev address, Selwyn Lloyd, the British Foreign Secretary, made an important similar proposal to the United Nations, calling for disarmament "down to internal policing levels." But it did not receive the attention the world gave to the Soviet proposal, chiefly because Britain is not the acknowledged military leader of either the Eastern or Western bloc.

In the United States the Khrushchev proposal aroused great interest precisely because the Soviet Union is our adversary in the cold war and our competitor in the arms race. The nation's press, however, was swift and outspoken in its criticism. In general, nine major criticisms have been leveled against the Khrushchev proposal and against disarmament in general.

One—Khrushchev didn't say anything new. He simply dusted off the old Soviet proposals made by Litvinov in 1927.

It is true, of course, that the two proposals are similar in that both of them called for total disarmament to be carried out in stages over a four-year period. But there are some important differences.

In 1927, the Soviet Union was weak and the Western nations were the great powers of the world. The Litvinov proposal was viewed then as a method for increasing the relative strength of the Soviet Union by eliminating the military might of the West. Today, the U.S.S.R. is a great power and is proposing the elimination of its own great military machine as well as those in the West.

Litvinov made his proposal when there was still fear of a German power revival that might result in war against France. This was an important factor in French opposition to disarmament, and France was one of the two most powerful nations in Europe. Today, France and Germany are working together. The danger from Germany is that she might precipitate a war between Russia and America. In fact the Russian fear of the rearmament of Germany is undoubtedly one of the reasons for the current Soviet proposal.

The Litvinov plan, if it had been accepted, would have spelled the end of British, French, Dutch, and other forms of colonialism maintained by armed force. None of the great powers, except the United States, was prepared then to yield empire because it would have weakened their great power status. Today, most colonies either are free or are in the process of achieving freedom. The mother country is not only aware of the inevitability of ultimate freedom but would profit more from not having to pay a heavy arms bill than it would from colonial investments. Disarmament would also enhance the relative power status of such second and third rate powers as Britain, France, Germany, Holland, and Italy.

The greatest difference between 1927 and 1959 is that arms then could be used in war without destroying civilization and annihilating the nations engaged in such conventional hostilities. Today we live in the nuclear age. Disarmament is therefore simply a recognition that preparation for a war we dare not wage is too hazardous to continue.

* * *

Two—It is argued that the Russians will not accept inspection. While it is true they have dragged their feet on inspection proposals thus far, Khrushchev quite frankly pointed out in his speech that the Soviet Union had feared inspection coupled with only partial disarmament would provide merely "for the collection of intelligence information" which enemy states could then use. But if disarmament were complete "the states will have nothing to conceal from one another any more." Therefore "general and complete disarmament . . . will remove all the barriers that were raised during the consideration of questions of partial disarmament."

Khrushchev did not elaborate on the details of inspection during the first three stages. He simply spoke of a system of international control to "function in conformity with the stages by which disarmament should be effected." It is obvious, then, that only the most serious negotiations on our part will reveal whether the Russians are prepared to have adequate inspection at each stage. If they were convinced that we intended to press for complete disarmament and were in fact already planning for economic change to a peacetime economy, they would have evidence of our intentions

JOHN SWOMLEY, JR., is executive director of the Fellowship of Reconciliation.

sufficient to inspire confidence in adequate inspection at each stage.

Three—The Khrushchev proposal was criticized on the grounds that it is utopian to think of *total* disarmament, that it is only *excessive* arms that endanger us. Two questions are here involved. The first is whether the Soviet Union and other nations are ready to disarm. The second is whether disarmament by stages constitutes a realistic road to the ultimate goal.

The first question can be answered only tentatively since much depends on public opinion, the vested interests in military establishments, and on a recognition by statesmen that nuclear war can never defend, but will only destroy, those who engage in it. The second question is answered by the fact that only when nations are convinced that satisfactory reduction of arms has taken place in stage one will they move on to the other stages. Thus the only fresh element in the current proposal is that, unlike previous plans, reduction of arms is seen not as an end in itself but as a step-by-step process toward complete disarmament.

Khrushchev therefore rightly criticized partial disarmament. "Apprehensions would always exist," he said, "that with the aid of the remaining types of armaments and armed forces the possibility of launching an attack would continue extant."

What is certainly utopian is to believe that there is a cause and effect relationship between the possession of weapons and the maintenance of peace. Such thinking overlooks the frequency with which wars have been started by blunder and miscalculation, and assumes that arms will deter because calm, peace-loving, and rational statesmen will always be in control in each of the many nations of the world.

* * *

Four—A more important criticism of the Soviet proposal is the assertion that "you can't negotiate with the U.S.S.R. because she won't keep her agreements." Great power states, not the least of them the Soviet Union, have a record of breaking agreements that it is not in their interest to keep. After insisting in 1945 that Japan and Germany be disarmed and agree not to re-arm, the United States has insisted that they re-arm. Britain and France broke the United Nations Charter when they sent armies into the Suez area. The Soviet Union has likewise broken agreements. But the Soviets, just as other nations, keep agreements which are in their interest to keep. The Soviet Union has kept the agreement with the United States to withdraw troops from Austria and respect that country's neutrality. Similarly, the Finnish-Russian treaty continues to be observed. The problem in negotiating a disarmament agreement is to devise one that will be in the interests of both Russia and the West. Total disarmament and the chance to build and maintain economic and political systems free from the crushing burden of arms would be in the interests of all. Serious problems will be encountered in negotiating such an agreement, but none that is insuperable.

Five—It is said that the Soviet Union is not interested in disarmament or it would have accepted the Baruch Plan. The Baruch proposal in June, 1946, provided for an International Atomic Development Authority that would own or control all atomic energy activities and have the power to inspect. Only when such a control and inspection system was working would we stop making our bombs. Baruch gave no assurance that the United States would stop making or stockpiling atom bombs until we were satisfied at some remote and indefinite date that international control was effective. In the meantime the U.S.S.R. and others were precluded from developing atomic weapons.

Such a proposal was viewed by Russia in much the same way as we would have viewed a similar Russian proposal about intercontinental missiles. One can imagine the uproar in Congress, if after Sputnik, the Russians had indicated they would agree to stop making and testing such missiles only after an inspection system was operating, and, in the meantime the United States would not be free to develop space rockets or other missiles.

Six—It is said that we tried disarmament after two world wars and it failed. Actually, the Allied powers, after insisting on the disarmament of Germany, refused to disarm themselves in spite of having agreed to do so. This refusal to follow suit was one of the arguments used by German nationalists to justify German re-armament and thus put an end to the humiliating inferiority of their nation.

The Washington Naval Disarmament Conference, which resulted in the scrapping of some blueprints, and some vessels in the process of construction, after World War I, resulted in a relative increase in American naval strength rather than a decrease. The Conference ended the Anglo-Japanese Treaty, thus increasing America's relative strength in the Pacific. It also resulted in a 5-5-3 ratio for building and maintaining navies, thus giving the United States, without an expensive arms race, equality with Great Britain, the leading naval power of that day, and a fixed advantage over Japan.

Following World War II, the United States had a monopoly on the atomic bomb, a navy larger than all others, what General George Marshall called a "superior" air force, and an army of more than a million men.

Those who say that the United States disarmed after two world wars are confusing demobilization with disarmament. No nation can continue indefinitely after the end of a war to maintain the degree of mobilization reached during the war. But demobilization to peacetime military levels is a far cry from total disarmament.

Seven—Another argument used against any disarmament proposal is that it is not armaments but political tensions which cause war. Such a statement implies that armaments in the possession of one nation do not inspire fear or tension in others. Yet there was a genuine rise in political tension immediately after the Russian development of nuclear weapons and again after the successful launching of Sputnik.

Professor Robert MacIver of Columbia University, in his classic *Web of Government,* wrote:

> "When historians tell us that the causes of a particular war were such and such, we still do not know why the 'causes' caused the war. They might have existed without causing the war. It is often hard to distinguish between pretexts and motivations. In the last resort, the cause of institutionalized behavior is the institu-

> tion that sanctions it. Every institution sets up mechanisms for its own perpetuation."

The armaments system and the armed forces of each nation are the institutions with vested interests in preparing and planning for war. The fact of similar interests in other nations provides a convenient competition.

This was evident prior to World War I when the French general staff insisted on large loans to Russia to modernize the Russian Army and build strategic railways to the German frontier. The Russians, in turn, bribed the Paris press to support the passage of the French government's three-year conscription bill. The German general staff became convinced that delay would add to Russian strength in 1914. The Kaiser and political rulers of Germany were unable to resist the pressures of the general staff. When Austria-Hungary, under pressure from its own general staff, decided to strike Serbia after the assassination of the Archduke, general war resulted.

Eight—In a critique of disarmament appearing in the October 11, 1959, New York *Times,* former Spanish diplomat Salvador de Madariaga made the amazing statement:

> "Nations do not seek armaments as they seek wealth or food or health. They consider armaments as a burden and a nuisance which they accept merely as a necessary evil. It follows that the only way to disarm would be to remove the cause which makes the evil and nuisance of armaments necessary."

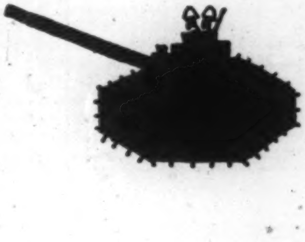
This statement is simply not true. Events of 1947 and 1948 right here in the United States demonstrate clearly that nations, and especially factions within nations, do indeed "seek armaments," sometimes so eagerly as to resort to dishonest means. In 1947, after the Pentagon had failed consistently since 1944 to get Universal Military Training, an all-out propaganda effort was begun, wrote Colonel William Neblett in *Pentagon Politics,* to convince the nation "that we were living in a state of undeclared emergency; that war with Russia was just around the corner; and that the safety of the nation was dependent upon the speedy" build-up of the military establishment. Neblett added: "I know from my own knowledge of the men who worked up the fear campaign that they do not believe what they say. Their propaganda has always had the single objective to build a huge conscript professional military force of 10,000,000 men under the command of a professional general staff."

The same year, 1947, Field Marshall Viscount Montgomery visited Russia and, upon his return to England, informed "the British government that it would be fifteen to twenty years before Russia would be in a position to fight a major war with any chance of success—if indeed she ever wished to embark on such a course, which I doubted."

In spite of the Pentagon's 1947 campaign, Congress did not pass Universal Military Training. In March 1948, still intent on UMT, the Army handed to President Truman a false intelligence report which indicated that Russian troops were on the move and war was only a few weeks away. The President, in an emergency session of both Houses of Congress on March 17, asked for immediate passage of the Marshall Plan, the draft, and UMT. Shortly thereafter the Central Intelligence Agency properly evaluated the Army's report as false. Yet neither the President nor the Army was prepared to correct the impression of danger they had created. General Omar N. Bradley, Army chief of staff, continued until June 1948 to tell Congress that war with Russia was a "plausible possibility."

As a result of this trumped-up war scare, Congress passed measures designed to build America's military might.

On May 14, 1949, *United States News & World Report* said, "War scares, encouraged by high officials only a few weeks ago, so alarmed the . . U.S. public that top planners now are having to struggle hard to keep Congress from pouring more money into national defense than the Joint Chiefs of Staff regard as wise or necessary. It is proving more difficult to turn off than to turn on a war psychology."



The Army's war talk and efforts in 1947-48 to secure the adoption of UMT and a large military establishment were a *cause* rather than a *result* of tension between the United States and the Soviet Union. It is true there were political tensions in 1948 arising from the Czech coup d'etat, but this followed the Army's 1947 campaign by many months. Moreover, when Congress offered a seventy group air force instead of UMT, President Truman and Army leaders felt it was unnecessary, thus confirming the analysis that they did not consider the Czech coup a forerunner of war with Russia. What they wanted was permanent universal conscription and a large peacetime army.

* * *

Nine—It is suggested that genuine agreement on disarmament is possible only if there are political settlements first. There is some truth in the idea that a relaxation of tensions is evidence of good faith in pursuing disarmament negotiations. But it is foolish to suppose that all political tensions can be eliminated from the world. If we had to wait until such a day there never would be any hope of disarmament. If, however, we achieve total disarmament, such problems as Berlin and Formosa will be more capable of solution. So long as military might is the basis of power, no government will give up what it does not have to give up. It is precisely because a solution in Berlin or Formosa would require one government to back down and would enhance the military power advantage of another that such agreements cannot be made easily under present conditions. On the other hand, an abandonment of military power would eliminate most of the sources of tension over Berlin and Formosa.

It is nonetheless obvious that some political agreements would have to be reached before disarmament can be put into effect. Red China, for example, would have to be admitted to the United Nations if she were to be a party to a disarmament agreement which provided for inspectors on Chinese soil.

While the proposal for total universal disarmament is of such utmost importance as to raise high hopes, many grave problems lie ahead:

To avoid serious economic dislocation the United States would have to plan for the radical change from an arms to a non-military economy. Until our government undertakes such a study it is clear that any disarmament proposals or negotiations on our part are mere propaganda.

The Khrushchev proposal referred to "strictly limited contingents of police, of militia" for each country to maintain internal order. Exactly what this means must be seriously explored. Does Khrushchev intend to have large police forces in Hungary or will he rely on the Communist Party and economic factors to keep Hungary in the Soviet orbit?

The Soviet proposal also failed to deal with the question of internal subversion. Should the international community protect small underdeveloped nations from internal subversion directed by agents of a great power? If so, how can we prevent the international community from being an instrument of the status quo designed to thwart legitimate political and social change? It may be that the international community should continue to refrain from interfering in clearly internal state matters. In this event, would the greater economic aid available during and after disarmament insure greater internal stability for nations in the process of change?

These problems and others must be squarely faced; but they are not beyond the ability of governments to solve. The immediate problem, however, is not one of solving all the details, important as they are. Rather it is one of insuring that our own government commit itself to the goal of total disarmament, and begin serious planning and negotiating with others to achieve that goal.

The United States cannot afford to ignore or turn down the proposal for total disarmament. To do so would be an admission that the Soviet Union is the champion of peace while we want to perpetuate the war system. Our government cannot risk being branded as the nation that stood in the way of disarmament.

But beyond all this, we Americans cannot afford to perpetuate a system which could, through blunder, miscalculation, or intention, result in the destruction of civilization and the genetic distortion of the human race.

chemicals & cancer

by ANTHONY NETBOY

ALTHOUGH widely feared, cancer, at the turn of the century, was not regarded as a major killer in the United States. In 1900, it was only seventh among the most deadly diseases in this country. By 1950, cancer had jumped to second place, and now it is estimated that one out of seven persons will be afflicted with it during his lifetime.

The causes of cancer are still largely obscure, although gleams of light are being thrown on some of the more common types. Most of the tremendous research on cancer has dealt with cures and palliatives, and only in relatively recent years has some attention been directed to the causes, particularly the "environmental causes." Scientists at the Harvard Medical School, National Cancer Institute, Sloan-Kettering Institute, Rockefeller Institute, and other research centers are probing civilized man's environment for clues to the causes of cancerous diseases.

Among the suspected causes, the shift from natural, nutritive foods of the days of our grandparents to the chemically-loaded diet of today ranks high. Although this is a difficult and complex field of investigation, facts already revealed in many technical papers suggest that people living on foodstuffs containing large doses of synthetic chemicals and additives may be asking for trouble since many of these ingredients are known to cause cancer in experimental animals. This situation has created enough concern to prompt several Congressional investigations since 1950 and some changes, regarded as altogether inadequate by many cancer experts, in our food and drug laws.

ANTHONY NETBOY has had long experience in the federal service, in teaching, and in free-lance writing. He has done much research in food adulteration since 1938 and is now collecting material for a book to be called "Consumers in Wonderland." The article in this issue is based on research performed at the National Cancer Institute in consultation with some of the leading experts mentioned in the article.

The attitude of competent investigators was well expressed by Dr. William E. Smith, at one time a staff researcher at the Harvard Medical School, the Rockefeller Institute, and the Sloan-Kettering Institute, in a letter to Representative James J. Delaney of New York, a leader in the fight to strengthen the Food and Drug Act. "It is simply not in the public interest," he said, "to expose consumers to the unforeseeable risks of a host of biologically foreign food additives that may provide eye-appeal or advertising values, but offer no nutritive benefit." Dr. Smith proposed that the restrictions should extend not only to chemicals introduced into food (as in bread, margarine, processed meat, canned goods, etc.) but to those administered to animals destined for human consumption. He cited the controversial drug diethylstilbestrol as an example of the hazards to which we are exposed.

Biologically a hormone, this synthetic compound is used to fatten and tenderize poultry and cattle before they are put on the market. The chemical industry has claimed that the drug's effects are dissipated in the cooking. But Dr. Smith told Delaney, "My colleagues and I have assembled data to show that the drug is not destroyed by cooking and that marketed poultry have contained per bird up to 324,000 times the amount of this drug sufficing as a daily diet to induce cancer in mice."

Cancer experts generally agree that chemicals which can induce cancer in animals are *ipso facto* not safe for human consumption even in the minutest amounts—a potent reason for the recent ban on cranberries contaminated with the weed killer aminotriazole, a chemical that has produced thyroid cancer in laboratory rats. Likewise, after several years of quiet agitation by the Food and Drug Administration, Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare Arthur S. Flemming announced December 11, 1959 that the poultry industry has been persuaded voluntarily to remove diethylstilbestrol from its operations and to make arrangements for an immediate halt in the sales of treated birds.

* * *

The enormity of the problem of identifying possible cancer-producing substances in common foods is evident from the fact that some 400 or more chemicals are now used for various purposes in food processing. The Food and Drug Administration recently, on November 20, 1959, published a list of 182 chemicals "which have been found safe for use in food" on the basis of a questionnaire returned by 355 "qualified experts." This order specified purposes for which safe chemicals may be used and in some instances the limits of tolerance—a step in the right direction, but by no means a guarantee to consumers that all of the 200 chemicals not on the list are harmless additives.

A survey made a few years ago by a committee of the National Research Council headed by William J. Darby, a Vanderbilt University pharmacologist, found that of the 116 dyes used in food, cosmetics, and drugs certified under the 1938 Food and Drug Act, only 15 had been studied to any extent. Of the 15, several were found to be distinctly toxic when fed to rats at levels as low as 0.25 per cent of a standard diet. Only five dyes "have not manifested deleterious effects on experimental animals." Some of the dyes produced cancer when painted on the skin of animals but had no apparent effects when taken internally; others produced cancer when swallowed but seemed harmless when used in cosmetics.

The coal-tar dyes have come under the most concentrated attack, although they are not the only suspected group of additives. In 1937, Dr. Murray J. Shear of the National Cancer Institute demonstrated in a paper published in the *American Journal of Cancer* that cancer of the liver is produced in animals with a dye used for artificial coloring of foods in other countries. He quoted a 1916 study by Salant and Regis of some azo-benzene derivatives, extensively employed in numerous industries and especially in the preparation of foods, showing that certain coal-tar dyes were then already suspect. Dr. Shear's experimental work on pure strains of mice with these dyes confirmed the suspicions.

In the summer of 1956 a symposium of the International Union Against Cancer, held in Rome and attended by 52 cancer experts from 21 countries, made sensational charges against the widely used food dyes. A paper read by Dr. W. C. Hueper of the National Cancer Institute, chairman of the IUAC's Cancer Prevention Committee, declared that no food dye met "agreed criteria of safety" and that several are definitely known to be carcinogenic. He warned that "a public health menace exists" so long as these additives are used because there is "no mandatory provision for assuring . . . that biologic properties of each . . . particularly later long-term or delayed effects, have been adequately studied." This report received relatively little notice in the press of Western countries.

Even before Dr. Hueper's paper was released, the FDA in November, 1955, had outlawed three of the 18 approved dyes used to color, among other things, candy, cakes, cookies, carbonated beverages, desserts, frankfurters, and oranges. After a nine-month legal battle instituted by the chemical industry, during which the dangerous dyes continued to be used, the Second U.S. Court of Appeals upheld the FDA order, first of its kind under the 1938 Food and Drug Act. The words of the Court are worth quoting: "The colors here involved have been shown to be alarmingly toxic. It would be unconscionable for any court to permit their use without the clearest and most uncompromising evidence that usage at certain levels were absolutely safe." Since this ruling, the FDA has removed all oil-soluble coal-tar dyes from certification for use in food and, as of January 6, 1960, from lipsticks, unless the cosmetic industry chooses to fight the order in the courts. According to an Associated Press dispatch, "FDA started its lipstick color crackdown after 90-day feeding tests showed they can harm laboratory rats. Some animals died. Others showed retarded growth, liver and kidney damage, enlarged spleens, anemia, and other ailments."

Oranges, by the way, are still painted red because of tricky legal maneuvering by the orange growing industry.

* * *

Dr. W. C. Hueper has been one of the foremost American authorities in studying the relationship of chemical additives to cancer. In a paper presented to a House of Representatives Subcommittee on Health and Science in August, 1957, he reported the occurrence of about 1,500 cancer victims in American and European chemical factories that were making dye intermediates, dyes, and rubber antioxidants, including several of the then certified dyes. The hazard to workers from two substances—betanaphthylamine and 4-aminadiphenol—was so high that some plants had to discontinue their manufacture.

In this paper Dr. Hueper submitted a list of chemicals regarded as potentially carcinogenic on the basis of a definition that "carcinogens are agents which, when applied under certain conditions to man or animals, elicit the subsequent development of cancers which would not have appeared otherwise." The list contained the following:

Triphenylmethane dyes (light green SF, brilliant blue, and fast green) and *betanaphthylamine azobenzol dyes* (yellow AB and yellow OB used for coloring butter, margarine, and baked goods).

Arsenicals found in foodstuffs as pesticide residue and as an additive of animal feeds. (To this we might add aminothiazole, found in cranberry spray.)

Estrogenic chemicals used to fatten poultry and livestock (such as diethylstilbestrol).

Chlorinated hydrocarbon pesticides,

especially Aramite and DDT, present as residues in foodstuffs.

Polycyclic aromatic hydrocarbons with carcinogenic properties—these appear in soot adhering to smoked foods or generated in food that is grilled or roasted in excessive heat.

Dr. Hueper also listed as suspect wrapping and coating materials made of polymerized carbon and silicon compounds, like cellophane, polyethylene, and polyvinil chloride, and items made from paraffin and mineral oils that have been insufficiently refined, such as those used for coating cheeses and fruits and impregnating food containers.

* * *

Dr. Hueper's testimony helped to persuade Congress to pass the 1958 amendment to the Food and Drug Act, which provides, among other things, that manufacturers must guarantee the safety of food packaging materials. This requirement arises from the scientific conviction that some of the chemicals in shiny wax containers, plastic bags, and the like are able "to migrate" into the food they protect or harbor.

The mere listing of all these suspected chemicals does not mean that we should become panicky and immediately shun wax-coated cheese, charcoal-broiled or grilled steaks and hamburgers, and luscious-colored cakes and pies. We should be aware, however, of the potential dangers and understand the manner in which carcinogens that enter the human system can produce cancer. Dr. Hueper outlines the process roughly as follows:

¶ The frequent or lifelong introduction of biologically foreign chemicals into the human body produces a delayed reaction.

¶ Contact of an individual with dietary carcinogens contributes to the total carcinogenic load acquired from other sources, such as pollutants in the air and cigarette smoking.

In short, "cancer hazards associated with constituents of foodstuffs fulfill two of the main requirements for the successful production of cancer": first, frequent, prolonged, and often lifetime exposure; and second, exposed individuals live long enough to survive the latent period, which may be years, even decades, between first exposure and appearance of a cancer.

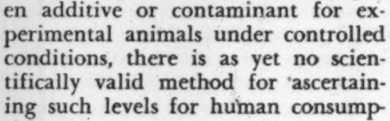
Because there has never been any direct experimentation on human beings (so far as I know), it is impossible in the present state of our knowledge to correlate any given chemical additive with a specific type of cancer in man. Indeed, most cancers caused by environmental agents cannot be distinguished from those which may be attributable to cellular or biochemical action. Thus, cancers may be elicited in specific organs or tissues by a substance (1) ingested or inhaled into the body; (2) absorbed through the skin; or (3) produced as the result of faulty metabolism.

A great deal depends, says Dr. Hueper, on the general health or resistance of the individual while subjected to the toxic substances. Some of us, according to this theory, may have ingested microscopic amounts of cancerous agents for many years but have been able to overcome their toxic effects. Others may not be so lucky.

From the evidence presented in Congressional hearings in 1957 and 1958 it is clear that the entire role of synthetic ingredients in our food supply needs to be re-evaluated. Admittedly, certain chemicals are needed to keep food fresh and palatable, particularly if shipped long distances, although they add little or nothing to nutritive values. Even colorings for eye appeal may be admissible, but the question is, how small a dose is safe?

While it is possible to find, at least theoretically, a safe dose for any given additive or contaminant for experimental animals under controlled conditions, there is as yet no scientifically valid method for ascertaining such levels for human consumption.

On January 13, 1959, Secretary Flemming issued a memorable statement to the press on the subject of food colorings. He noted that the U.S. Supreme Court had upheld the 1958 amendment to the Food and Drug Act and that the FDA was now in a position to ban the use of coal-tar colors whenever it marshals evidence that any color is "not harmless." However, this authority could not hide the fact that "under existing law the consumer is not receiving, for the following reasons, adequate protection against the use of colors in food, drugs, and cosmetics:



"1. The government must assume the burden of proving that coal-tar colors now in use are harmful.

"2. The government does not have the discretion to permit the use of coal-tar colors in specified quantities or in specified products, even when it arrives at the conclusion that such use is absolutely harmless.

"3. The government's present authority to certify colors is restricted to coal-tar colors and does not extend to other color additives.

"4. The government does not have authority to prohibit the careless or excessive use of the coal-tar colors now in use.

"It is clear, therefore, that new legislation is required."

* * *

The original Food and Drug Act, passed in 1906, was enacted only after a hard struggle through the efforts of Dr. Harvey Wiley, Upton Sinclair, President Theodore Roosevelt, and others. The 1938 Act, which widened the government's authority to protect the consumer, was the result of the battering tactics of the Roosevelt Administration spearheaded by Rexford Guy Tugwell.

Since 1938 the chemical adulteration of foods has reached such alarming proportions that Congress is belatedly recognizing the problem and ordering some housecleaning by food processors. However, little information on cancer agents in food is generally available to the public. In a survey in 1957 at the headquarters of the American Cancer Society in New York, I found only a few references on this subject in its files—and the Society itself was then sponsoring (so far as I could learn) no research on cancer and foods.

Most doctors with whom I have talked pooh-pooh the suggestion that there may be a correlation between our chemicalized diet and the spectacular rise in the incidence of cancer. The medical journals have also almost universally ignored the subject.

Current urban living emphasizes quick-cooking, with packaged, bottled, canned, or frozen foods made possible by chemicals. It would be impossible to go back to the more natural diet of 1900, when relatively little chemicalization existed. But the fact remains that the American public needs stronger protection from food adulterers than we are now getting. In an address to the Food Law Institute Conference in Washington last November, Deputy FDA Commissioner John L. Harvey listed as urgently desired legislation:

¶ Stronger and more specific color additive laws. The present law regards colors as either "harmless" (in which case they are allowed in any quantity) or "not harmless" (in which they are not allowed at all), but Harvey said that "no substance is completely harmless, so we have colors allowed in foods, drugs, and cosmetics . . . which may cause harm in high concentration."

¶ Pre-testing of cosmetics.

¶ Better labeling of hazardous substances suitable for household use.

In addition to buttressing the legal structure against harmful chemicals and contaminants, we need wider dissemination of reasonably authenticated facts. It is hard to find news of cancer and foods in the widely-read media dependent on food advertisers, unless a sensational stop-marketing order is involved. Editors shy away from the subject, as I found a few years ago in proposing a documented article to various West Coast newspapers. One editor admitted, "The food advertisers would be on our necks."

Now that scientists have proven, at least to the satisfaction of intelligent laymen, that cancer and long-time cigarette smoking go hand in hand, government agencies and research foundations might well turn more of their attention to the far more complex problem of carcinogens in our daily food. The publicity stirred up by the recent courageous actions of the Food and Drug Administration, including its determination to ban any food additive "if appropriate tests show the production of cancer in test animals at any dosage level," indicates an urgent need for it.

THE PEOPLE'S FORUM

Fateful Decision

Dear Sirs:

At the time of the first Pugwash Conference of nuclear scientists, the United States, the Soviet Union, and Great Britain were the sole possessors of the dread secret of the bomb. Over a four-year period, five Pugwash scientific conferences have brought together 112 eminent specialists from twenty-three major nations, East and West, who are of the unanimous opinion that weapons of mass annihilation must be universally banned, and that delay can lead only to the eventual possession of the worst forms of weaponry by every country of consequence around the globe.

With the recent French explosion in the Sahara, membership in the nuclear club has increased to four. Unless international agreement is reached soon to prohibit tests and ban nuclear weapons, each of the other nineteen nations on the Pugwash list, along with others, will in all likelihood be equipping itself with nuclear weapons. All of these countries now have the requisite scientific manpower and industrial capacity in the key fields of electric power, steel, chemicals, engineering, and large-scale construction.

These grave considerations dictate the urgency for the early conclusion of a clear-cut test ban agreement at Geneva, where negotiations have been dragging along for fifteen months. There can be no hope whatever of agreement at Geneva as long as pressure for further testing, however limited, continues to be successfully exerted on the White House and the Congress by the U.S. Defense Department, the Atomic Energy Commission, and the small handful of official scientific advisers with a vested interest in urging the United States to run the risk of more tests.

America's closest Western allies have restrained themselves from open criticism of the United States position with the greatest forbearance, but now seem determined to convince world opinion that they, for their part, favor a different course. The Canadian government has just announced a straightforward new foreign policy calling for the end of all nuclear testing and the complete prohibition of nuclear, biological, and chemical warfare. At the same time, Great Britain is giving every evidence of intending to follow the Canadian example promptly.

The rivalries that now seem to loom large between the United States and the Soviet Union will be overshadowed by the terrible hazards that will confront mankind if twenty-three or more nations become manufacturers of their own nuclear arms. The eyes of the world are focused on the President of the United States, the one man who can make the fateful decision. Let us hope that his concern for humanity and respect for world sentiment, coupled with his profound knowledge of weaponry and his broad experience in warfare, will tip the scales toward the immediate end of nuclear testing as the first step in disarmament.

Cyrus Eaton
Cleveland, Ohio

German Dishonor

Dear Sirs:

I would like Americans, especially subscribers to *The Progressive,* to know how deeply disgusted, depressed, and full of despair a great many Germans feel on account of the anti-Semitic demonstrations in Germany recently. We cannot regard them only as an insult to the Jewish people, but beyond that as a mark of dishonor to the Germans after all the horrible deeds during the Nazi era.

Margarethe Lachmund
Berlin-Zehlendorf,
Germany

Clemency for Gold, Sobell

Dear Sirs:

We should like to direct the attention of your readers to the cases of two men now serving sentences of thirty years' imprisonment for espionage. We feel that in both cases the sentences were excessive and that —a full decade having passed—an act of clemency is now in order.

The first case is that of Harry Gold, who cooperated fully with the authorities in exposing Soviet espionage activities in this country, but who nevertheless (for reasons beyond our comprehension) received this extreme sentence. He now languishes in jail. While both Allen Nunn May and Klaus Fuchs were far more important and sinister figures than Gold, neither evidenced any noticeable change of heart; neither rendered any assistance to his government; and yet they are now set free, while Gold remains in prison. We submit that this is an absurd injustice which ought to be remedied.

The second case is that of Morton Sobell. We agree with the jury that Sobell—who protests his innocence—was guilty of espionage beyond a reasonable doubt. But we think that ten years is an ample sentence for what Sobell actually did and that, having served the term, he should now be released.

Sobell was tried together with Julius and

Ethel Rosenberg, who were convicted of supplying atomic data to Soviet agents and were later executed. The only witness against him, Max Elitcher, stated merely that Sobell had tried, without success, to get military information from him for the benefit of the Soviet Union. Elitcher said nothing about atomic espionage, as Judge Kaufman admitted in sentencing Sobell: "The evidence in the case did not point to any activity on your part in connection with the atom bomb project."

This is why the late Judge Jerome Frank of the United States Court of Appeals for the Second Circuit dissented from the opinion of his two colleagues in upholding the verdict on Sobell.

In view of the fact that no atomic espionage was even alleged against him, and that the sole witness testified merely to unsuccessful attempts to procure information, we think that Sobell should now be released from prison.

(We do not mention David Greenglass, another principal involved in this case, whose testimony as a cooperative witness played a key role, because he was sentenced to fifteen years and has been eligible for parole for some time. His applications for parole have been uncharitably denied seven times. What we have said above applied *a fortiori* to him.)

Nathan Glazer
Sidney Hook
Irving Kristol
Dwight Macdonald
New York, N.Y.

Progressive 'Barely Literate'

Dear Sirs:

I have just read in a recent issue of your magazine that it is being circulated in primary and secondary schools with glowing recommendations. I shuddered at the news: not because I am antipathetic to *Progressive* sentiments, rather because the writing in your magazine is of such an inept, barely literate level. That school children should accept the crudities and vulgarisms of your tabloid-paper prose as a model for their own expression is as frightening to me as the prospect that these children might grow up reactionaries.

Your cause would be better served with a more intelligent presentation of material.

James Hazard
Department of English
University of Connecticut,
Storrs, Conn.

Bowles for President

Dear Sirs:

I agree wholeheartedly with your article on Adlai Stevenson. He stands out—towers if you like—among all the others. There is a flaw in the comparison, however. Stevenson says he is not a candidate. Included in the comparison, therefore, should be the *one* man, who also says he is not a candidate, and who can measure up to Stevenson in *stature*.

Chester Bowles is as remarkable in his way as Stevenson is in his. Both evidence greatness. Chester Bowles-for-President Clubs are forming in the East. Surely you are not going to omit Bowles in your proposed list of men you are going to write up as Presidential candidates in future issues of *The Progressive*. The idea of articles like these is not only to present Chester Bowles to the public, but also to inform Chester Bowles that he is urgently needed.

Mrs. Hansi Popper
Chicago, Ill.

Dear Sirs:

I should like to express my appreciation of the series of portraits of possible Presidential candidates which you have been presenting in *The Progressive*, especially the recent fine interpretation of Adlai Stevenson by Senator Neuberger.

But on the list you have offered for future profiles there is one name missing, which I think is an important one if there is any chance of the politicians foiling the efforts of intelligent Democrats to nominate Adlai Stevenson. The name is that of Chester Bowles—a man who seems to me to come closer to Adlai Stevenson's qualifications than any other candidate so far named—in short a man of stature.

Do not misunderstand me, please. Adlai Stevenson is still my "horse" for the race. I only think of a dark one—and am chagrinned to think this possible—if I am denied the first and best choice.

Blanche S. Metz
Woods Hole, Mass.

Dear Sirs:

Your series on Presidential hopefuls is not complete without Chester Bowles. He is a must for a magazine like *The Progressive*. I look forward eagerly to the April number on Hubert Humphrey.

Press Brown
Long Beach, Calif.

Dear Sirs:

May I thank you for the excellent series depicting the candidates for President. I wish there was a way of making this compulsory reading for all Americans, to bring them out of their lethargy.

I wish to congratulate you especially for the article on Adlai Stevenson. I see no reason to question why the intellectuals all like him so much. Stature may be difficult to define, but Stevenson has it; he naturally towers above them all. It reminds me of the separation of men from boys. Boys want to be elected to *be* something. Men want to be elected to *do* something. I class Nixon among the boys.

I wish to urge you to include one more man in this series. Like Adlai he is not an avowed candidate, and like Adlai he has repeatedly over the years evidenced that keenness of perception and depth of thinking that make his outstanding greatness shine so brightly. I speak of Chester Bowles. The condition of both our foreign and domestic affairs demands the election of a giant in leadership. Bowles is the one man that ranks with Stevenson. Surely you must include him in this series.

Robert B. Stewart
Arvada, Colo.

Dear Sirs:

I cannot say how it is in some sections of the country, but there is a great deal of sentiment in this vicinity for Chester Bowles as a Presidential candidate. Many people who say they would not care to vote for either of the "front runners"—Kennedy or Nixon—will add that they could "become enthusiastic about Bowles."

Chester Bowles has superior qualifications for the Presidency. As OPA administrator, ambassador to India, governor of Connecticut and now a member of Congress, he has become thoroughly acquainted with both executive and legislative problems. His numerous books and articles, particularly in the field of foreign policy, are thoughtful and arresting. His latest volume, *The Coming Political Breakthrough*, could well serve as a platform for the Democratic Party to work from in 1960.

One point to consider is that Bowles—while a convinced liberal—is not thought to be anathema to the South, apparently because he has so clearly recognized that the problem of desegregation is a national and not just a regional problem. Furthermore, Chester Bowles is a convincing speaker who manages to combine content with a manner of presentation which avoids the over-academic. Perhaps it is highly relevant to add that many people feel that Chester Bowles would have a good chance to win—which is pretty certainly not true of many possible liberal candidates.

I could add that there absolutely *is* a considerable amount of sentiment among "ultra-Protestants" against Senator Kennedy because of his Catholicism. They seem to persist in ignoring the Senator's own statements about the U.S. Constitution. To me, this is nonsense. Other qualifications, or a lack of them, should be the criteria.

Ann Hubbell
Ypsilanti, Mich.

Dear Sirs:

I am enjoying your series on Presidential possibilities for 1960 very much, and would like to suggest that you add another to your series—one on Chester Bowles.

I was in Washington last week, and in view of the small amount that has been in the papers about him, I was surprised at how many people were talking about Chester Bowles.

But Washington can be very provincial in its thinking and I thought maybe this was a local phenomenon. However, when I got home I had a letter from a friend in North Carolina telling me that her choice for the Democratic nomination was Chester Bowles. And yesterday I had a letter from California which began "How do you feel about Chester Bowles as a possible candidate for the Presidency?" She went on to say that he seemed to have all the qualifications and so far as she had been able to discover no "disqualifying factors."

Mr. Truman suggested at the Democratic dinner in Washington that we should not only examine carefully the seven potential candidates who were speaking there but other good men in the party too. Of these, Chester Bowles seems to have the ability, vision, and experience that would suggest a more thorough exploration of his potential as a candidate and as President.

Martha Ragland
Nashville, Tenn.

The Office Memo, on the inside front cover, contains a comment on the suggested article on Chester Bowles. —The Editors.

Protests Dropping Bomb Ban

Dear Sirs:

We would like to bring to the attention of your readers a letter from the well-known British writer, Vera Brittain, to President Eisenhower.

> Dear Mr. President:
>
> As a veteran of two wars who has published many books and articles on peace and war, and as a British citizen who has advocated nuclear disarmament on numerous American platforms from New York to San Francisco under the auspices of the American Friends Service Committee, may I beg you to reconsider the decision of the American government to withdraw the ban on nuclear testing?
>
> Many other British women in this crowded island who are the mothers of young adults and the grandmothers of small children look to you personally to do your utmost to save all mothers and children from this renewed menace to the world's future, and to give us a lead in subordinating the terrifying powers of science to the moral vision of mankind.
>
> Yours respectfully,
> Vera Brittain
>
> London, England

Men and women in the United States have no less a responsibility to speak out on the question of nuclear testing. We hope that Vera Brittain's letter may be seen by the thousands of Americans who read *The Progressive*, and that they too may be encouraged to write our President.

Norman J. Whitney, National Sec'y
Peace Education
American Friends Service Committee
Philadelphia, Pa.

Yearns for Peace Candidate

Dear Sirs:

In common with many readers of *The Progressive*, I suspect, I heartily applaud the views expressed in the February issue editorial on the recent Truman-Acheson criticisms of some of President Eisenhower's more peace-minded policies in foreign affairs. These criticisms tend to bury both the chances of Democratic victory in November and our hopes for peace.

Although Senators Hubert H. Humphrey and John F. Kennedy, Representative Chester Bowles, and Adlai E. Stevenson take far more acceptable positions than do Truman and Acheson, they are not sufficiently peace-directed to keep the President's "peace mantle" from falling on Nixon—that is, in popular estimation. Men who complain about the missile lag and advocate increased military spending are not convincing peace candidates. It would be far better if they had criticized Eisenhower for permitting Adenauer and de Gaulle to dictate Allied policy, and for the proposed plan to give Germany nuclear weapons. (Humphrey has opposed the latter, and I suppose that Stevenson does, though I have seen no statement of his.)

Last year Bowles disappointed his own supporters by some statements he made at the University of Washington. For example, in response to a question about a statement by Kennedy that "our position in Europe is worth a nuclear war," Bowles indicated that was a proposition to which he would subscribe.

Oh, for candidates that we could really trust to work for disarmament, disengagement, and increased cooperation through the United Nations!

J. L. Johnson
Seattle, Wash.

One to Make a War

Dear Sirs:

My husband and I were much impressed by Stuart Chase's article proposing a Peace Production Board and long range employment planning as the most logical preventive measure of the next war.

But Mr. Chase neglected to mention a preventive measure for the cure of the "war" and "full of violence and hatred" mind that is prevalent in everyone, blatantly or latently, to some degree. In the billions of people alive and functioning (or in the future generations of man) there are some Caesars, Hitlers, and Napoleons. It takes only one to make a war, the right one to persuade the mob. Mankind may have civilized itself technologically, scientifically, and in other physical ways, but man himself has not changed his desire for power, lust, greed, and selfishness. We are all aware of the two-sided nature of man, but we are not always aware of what triggers which side to act when.

In essence then, my criticism of Chase's article, "Peace, It Could Be Wonderful," is that it seeks to solve only the material and physical aspects of war, the least of the stimulants of battles among men. I am quite sure that gunpowder in its time loomed as dangerously before the eyes of men as a reason to do away with war forever, as do nuclear powered weapons today. The bigger problem is: How do we get man to understand, love, and protect his neighbor as an end in itself?

Mrs. Newton LeVine
Philadelphia, Pa.

Platform for Peace

Dear Sirs:

There are many of us concerned about making total disarmament and the whole issue of world peace a paramount issue in the 1960 election campaigns.

Since the party organizations, at the moment, seem disposed to ignore real solutions to this crucial dilemma, groups are being formed in various parts of the United States to inject peace issues into the campaign.

The primary objective of two of these groups is to persuade major party candidates for Congressional office to adopt a particular platform, and to support the candidacy of those who do. A further objective is to publicize the stands taken by candidates on these issues of grave national importance.

The following platform is that prepared by the New England group, "Political Action For Peace":

To bring world peace: we favor total disarmament.

To affirm our belief in the value of human life: we renounce the use of nuclear weapons under any circumstances.

To provide initial steps toward total disarmament: we propose the immediate cessation of the production and testing of nuclear and biological weapons and ballistic missiles.

To confront the economic problems arising from the transition to a peacetime economy: we propose the formation of a National Disarmament Administration with power to take the steps necessary to maintain full employment.

To increase the effectiveness of the United Nations: we favor the admission of all nations to the U.N.

To help create a peaceful world: we urge a large-scale, long-range program of world economic and social development channeled primarily through the United Nations.

To provide for the transition to world peace: we support the strengthening of the World Court and the creation of a small international police force to prevent the spread of conflict.

An embryonic group in Seattle, "Platform for Peace—1960," is now preparing a similar program.

We hope that people who are interested in this kind of political action will get in touch with us and begin to work in their own communities. Write to:

Committee on Political Action For Peace
P.O. Box 246, Sunderland, Mass.
Platform for Peace—1960
18339—47th Pl. N.E.
Seattle 55, Wash.

War is no longer a solution—if indeed it ever has been—to the problems that arise between nations. Those of us who believe this must say it, and say it politically. Peace is no longer the visionary's dream—it is the practical man's necessity. Won't you join us in the support of an idea whose time has come?

Anne M. Stadler
Platform for Peace—1960
Seattle, Washington

'Just Standing There'

Dear Sirs:

Pacifists (and those who propose and attempt to reform the world) are often asked why they don't give up since it must be obvious by now that they accomplish, as "Scott" said in Milton Mayer's January issue article, "Just Standing There," "Nothing."

It may, of course, be argued that something is accomplished by those working for

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a better world and that the world is a little better because of their efforts. But even if "nothing" were accomplished, as the cynics maintain, all of us working in our own way for a better world would still stand at the vigil against germ warfare, we would still send a protest group to the Sahara Desert, we would still sail the *Golden Rule* to the Pacific, we would still work for freedom, equality, justice, and a better life for all the people of the world.

We would do all this because we *have* to do it; because there is something in us that says that life is not worth living for us if this attempt were not made; because our existence gains meaning and significance by "just standing there" and saying that war and injustice and hunger in the midst of plenty may exist but that we protest against their existence and the perpetuation of their existence and are doing what we can to remedy them; and, finally, because we believe that the existence of our fellow human beings, and especially those who are the victims of these misfortunes, gains significance and hope by our efforts.

Irene Spanolios
Corona, N. Y.

Remedy Arrest Records

Dear Sirs:

In many states, including California, records of arrest are permanently retained in all cases, even when complete innocence is established.

The mere fact of having been arrested—sometimes as the result of vindictive persecution, or in error—is sufficient to deny employment, both public and private in many instances.

Liberals should be alerted to publicize this condition, and to seek remedial legislation.

Nels Walton
Alhambra, Calif.

Joke of the Century

Dear Sirs:

My vote for the joke of the century goes to this quotation from *The Encyclopaedia Britannica*: "Biological warfare . . . represents another attempt by man to examine and control the forces of nature *for the use of civilization*." (My emphasis) The author of the article, is of course, a retired military man.

J. E. Clubb
Vancouver, B.C.

Why Ignore China?

Dear Sirs:

After reading all the articles on China in your October magazine I have looked almost in vain for comments in the People's Forum of November through February.

I can't believe that there has been only one letter on this pertinent subject. Others must be as disturbed as I am. What is the use of so much talk about "peace" with Russia when any new approach to China is ignored? Is Chiang Kai-shek's Chinese lobby still so powerful?

Marjory L. Comings
Great Barrington, Mass.

Backs to the Past

Dear Sirs:

I want to congratulate you on Alfred Werner's piece in your January issue on George Grosz (whose name, incidentally, was always George, not Georg as Mr. Werner assumes). To the tranquilization examples of Grosz as well as Heinrich Mann and Kurt Weill could be added such further examples as Ernst Krenek (a revolutionary musician who turned professor in this country), Lion Feuchtwanger (who became a complacent historical research novelist), and hosts of European socialists who have yawningly turned their backsides on their pasts. God knows what would have happened to Gustav Mahler had he remained in this country!

Reginald Parker
Salem, Oregon

Shares Mayer's Misgivings

Dear Sirs:

The February issue of *The Progressive* is especially wonderful. As always, I tremendously enjoyed Milton Mayer's article. As we also travel so much—two years ago all over Africa, last year twice in Europe and South America—I share Mr. Mayer's deep misgivings of this country's complacency and unawareness of what is happening in the outside world. I only wish Mr. Mayer's article could be reprinted in a mass media magazine, so that millions of readers could read it and ponder it.

Dione Neutra
Los Angeles, Calif.

Food & Drug Record Soiled

Dear Sirs:

Although public attention has frequently been focussed upon situations within the Food and Drug Administration, one exists there of which too few people are aware.

Senator Paul H. Douglas of Illinois, requesting a hearing on Krebiozen from Commissioner George P. Larrick of the food and drug agency, said, "It seems extraordinary that you should hold an application for over five years and not make a ruling upon it—or even set a hearing. It seems to me that this is unjust and amounts to a negative action through inaction . . . as a long supporter of the Food and Drug Administration, I hate to see its record soiled in the fashion it has been."

It appears that Commissioner Larrick is completely callous to human suffering. His inaction is blocking from interstate commerce a cancer drug which, for the past decade, has been relieving the agony of terminal cancer patients when they are most in need of help because opiates have ceased to be effective.

Mrs. R. H. Morton
New York, N. Y.

Letters to the Rescue

Dear Sirs:

Thirty thousand letters did it! Some months ago, when listeners in the New York Metropolitan area having access to TV Channel 13 learned that financial difficulties threatened "The Play of the Week," they spoke up so that now the continuation of this distinguished series of plays is assured.

But in the offing there is good news for millions who cannot get Channel 13. "The Play of the Week" has been sold to station KCOP in California, which in turn sells to a supporting sponsor. Fortunately the many distinguished plays previously produced are not lost to the new audience. They have been put on tape, so that new listeners may look forward to viewing such gems as *Medea, Waltz of the Toreadors, Month in the Country, Juno and the Paycock* and in due time the current offering, the brilliant *Tiger at the Gate*.

This series can and must be sold to many other local stations throughout the country. It all depends on TV audiences. Emulate the writers of 30,000 letters! Communicate with your local station by letter or postcard requesting "The Play of the Week." It is not enough for TV audiences privately to deplore the lack of intelligent entertainment on that medium. Those who crave such offerings as "The Play of the Week" must speak up. If they do so in sufficient numbers their local station will give heed.

Muriel I. Symington
Brooklyn, N. Y.

'Well Read' Feeling

Dear Sirs:

The Progressive is the best magazine I read. It covers all subjects of interest, contains much international information, and carries good editorials and Notes in the News. A person has a feeling of being well read. I find the Index included in the January issue invaluable.

Frank Lassey
Cartwright, N. Dak.

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BOOKS

Light on Democracy

POLITICAL MAN: HOW AND WHY DEMOCRACY WORKS IN THE MODERN WORLD, by Seymour Martin Lipset. Doubleday. 432 pp. $4.95.

Reviewed by

Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr.

ONCE, WHEN WE had fundamental questions to ask about the nature of political society, we turned to the political philosophers. But in recent times political philosophy seems to have entered a stage of irreversible decay; and, as it has receded from the modern mind, the sociology of politics has seeped in to fill the gap.

Actually most of the sociologists of politics in the grand style—Machiavelli, Marx, Tocqueville, Pareto, Sorel—have been political philosophers in disguise, and not necessarily the worse for that. Professor Lipset, however, is an authentic sociologist who uses facts less to illustrate preconceptions than to suggest conclusions. His intelligence is generous and eclectic, sometimes undiscriminatingly so; he seems to have read everything; he writes clearly, though with lapses into the *patois* of his trade; and the result in *Political Man* is a series of essays which valuably illuminate significant aspects of the democratic process.

Lipset first turns his attention to the social prerequisites of democracy. He is particularly concerned with the impact of industrialization on societies; and in a comparative analysis of several countries he uncovers illuminating, if not always surprising, correlations between the level of economic development and the quality of democratic politics. Next, he considers certain challenges to the democratic order—especially working-class "authoritarianism" and middle-class fascism. Finally he turns to the concrete behavior of democratic societies—their voting patterns and, especially in the United States, the character of their political parties.

This is a rich book, and, with all its looseness and sometimes confusion of argument, it contains much of value. As a sociologist, Lipset is committed to no school; he is prepared to invoke everything from historical sociology in the spacious Nineteenth Century manner to the minute statistical investigations of present-day quantitative sociologists. Nor is he committed to any one country as a field of study: he roams widely and produces some of his most interesting effects through comparative analysis. And he is far more ready than most sociologists to take the evidence of history into account before he launches his grand generalizations. He quotes Schumpeter with approval: "No decade in the history of religion, technology, painting, poetry, and whatnot, ever contains its own explanation. In order to understand the events . . . you must survey a period of much wider span. Not to do so is the hallmark of dilettantism."

A good deal of the time the author uses historical evidence to excellent effect. As an historian, however, I am obliged to report that he does not always handle history with what my own guild would consider proper caution. One senses an occasional tendency to subordinate the drabness of historical fact to the glories of sociological theory. Thus a pervading thesis of *Political Man* is that the upper classes are more tolerant and enlightened than anyone else. In successive chapters Lipset traces bigotry to the working class ("extremist and intolerant movements in modern society are more likely to be based on the lower classes than on the middle and upper classes") and to the self-employed urban and rural middle classes ("their discontent leads them to accept diverse irrational protest ideologies—regionalism, racism, super-nationalism, anti-cosmopolitanism, McCarthyism, Fascism"). He never takes up the upper classes directly; but they hover in the wings of his analysis as a collection of high-minded libertarians, conservative on economic issues, no doubt, but otherwise dedicated to the defense of culture and individuality.

Obviously there are libertarians and bigots in all classes. But it would be hard to prove from American history that the upper classes have saved civil freedom from the wanton assaults of the working class and of the self-employed members of the middle class. Indeed, with a certain facility for self-contradiction, Lipset writes in another place, "In general, the various nativist and anti-Catholic movements which have arisen at various periods in American history have been identified with the conservative parties." Nonetheless, he is concerned more of the time with establishing intolerance as a particularly lower class contribution. To do this, he has to perform some astonishing operations on the word "Populism." It should be said that here he is following the lead of other sociologists, who, in turn, have misunderstood what historians like Richard Hofstadter and Oscar Handlin have said about Populism. Lipset repeats the now standard sociological view that Populism is the source of all evil in American society—a theory which reaches its climax in the currently fashionable designation of Joseph R. McCarthy as the heir of the Populists. Professor C. Vann Woodward of Johns Hopkins deals with the fallacies of this theory brilliantly in an article in the current *American Scholar;* so I will only add a word or two here.

* * *

It is important, I think, to note that Professor Lipset seems to have only the vaguest idea what Populism was all about. For example, at one point, he describes Populism as a movement designed to "restore the old middle classes' economic security and high standing in society;" at another, he identifies "poorly educated small businessmen" as "the traditional supporters of American Populism." Either view will astonish historians who had naively supposed Populism to have been an agrarian movement. The thin strain of verbal anti-Semitism in Populism, of course, confirms the Lipset thesis about the wickedness of the lower classes; yet any notion that Populism is *the* source of American anti-Semitism would require Lipset to regard Henry and Brooks Adams, not to speak of New York's Four Hundred, as leading Populists. Moreover, he writes of Populism and Progressivism as if they formed a continuous movement, overlooking the fact that one arose from the countryside, the other from the cities, that they were widely different in style and purpose, and that the great leaders of Progressivism—Theodore Roosevelt, Wilson, LaFollette, and Brandeis—were all bitter foes of Populism. And he is so eager to fit Progressivism into his Procrustean bed that he describes the Progressive attempts to revitalize and clean up the party system as attempts "to break down the sources of partisan strength and create as much direct democracy as possible." (However, at another point Lipset turns around and *praises* the primary election system as facilitating the "maintenance of continuities" in party politics.)

Similarly he argues—once again on behalf of his generalization about the superior enlightenment of the upper classes—that before the Civil War the upper-class Whig Party was more anti-slavery than the lower-class Democratic Party. It is true enough that the Democratic Party of the 1850s was pro-slavery; but the reason for this was precisely the fact that the anti-slavery Democrats were so numerous and passionate that in 1848 they withdrew from the Democratic Party, under the leadership of a former Democratic President, Martin Van Buren, and formed the Free Soil Party. The anti-slavery Whigs, evidently not caring so deeply about the slavery issue, were quite content in 1848 to back a slaveholder for President in the same party with the largest slaveholders in the South.

If I had more space, I would comment on other features of *Political Man*. I have advanced elsewhere (in a recent number of *Daedalus*) some of the reasons why I find Lipset's account of the status of intellectuals in American life superficial. One could quarrel with others of his contentions and conclusions. Still, this remains a stimulating, if disorderly, work which will cause many readers to reconsider their own unexamined assumptions about the workings of democracy.

Red Retreat

THE DECLINE OF AMERICAN COMMUNISM, by David Shannon. Harcourt, Brace. 425 pp. $7.50.

Reviewed by

Maurice J. Goldbloom

THERE IS NO shortage of books on the American Communist Party. But there is a shortage of good ones, and this one is very good. Professor Shannon is scholarly without being pedantic, and he writes with a sense of both the ridiculous and the pathetic—even tragic—elements of the story he tells.

Primarily, this is a history of the postwar Communist movement in its strictly political aspects. Espionage is referred to only in passing—except as its discovery bore on the party's political activities—chiefly because of the absence of evidence, at least on the public record, of the party's direct involvement in espionage in the last several years. (The cases which have come to light during this period have either involved an earlier time, or they have not been traceable back to the party as such.) Nor does Shannon devote much space to Communist cultural efforts; they don't deserve it.

While the Communist adventures and misadventures in the labor movement receive somewhat more attention, treatment of them is still sketchy. Matters of importance to the labor historian are mentioned only briefly or not at all: e.g., Lee Pressman's key role in manipulating CIO machinery in the Communist interest in the war and immediate postwar periods, and the crucial part played by the expelled left Communists of the Dunne-Darcy-Keith group in enabling Joe Curran to break with the party in the National Maritime Union. There are also some minor errors on the extent and nature of Communist influence in various unions. None of these, however, affects the validity of Shannon's general analysis.

Perhaps the best sections of the book are those dealing with the history of the Henry Wallace campaign of 1948, and with the struggle for party control which followed Khrushchev's denunciation of Stalin at the Twentieth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. With the aid of previously unpublished material, Shannon has made many things clear which were previously obscure in both these periods. At the same time, he has used the wealth of detail he presents to illuminate the broader issues involved in both cases. Much of what he writes is fascinating; it is no fault of Shannon's that some is not, since he didn't write the Communist documents which are a necessary part of his story.

His description of the party's "internal security" procedures embodies little factual material that will be new to readers of J. Edgar Hoover. But whereas Hoover regards these procedures as aspects of the party's strength, Shannon shows how they both reflected and intensified the party's weakness. (A similar difference of points of view exists between them in regard to some of the security procedures undertaken *against* the Communists.) Another source of party weakness which Shannon describes in some detail is the constant search for heretics, and a readiness to manufacture them if there is a shortage of real ones. Thus he describes the firing of Isadore Begun from his party offices for "white chauvinism" because of the cliches he did *not* include in his speech at a dinner honoring a Negro party member!

Shannon holds that "The decline of the American Communist Party can be told largely in terms of the conversion of the non-Communist Left into the anti-Communist Left." He attributes this in part to objective conditions and in part to the tactical errors of the Communists themselves, but points out that "The party's obeisance to Moscow was the source of its 'errors' and the root cause of its unhappy 'objective situation.'" He notes, however, that the strength of the American Communist movement—and, indeed, its existence—also resulted in large part from its connection with the Soviet Union.

The author is extremely skeptical of the value of most of the repressive measures adopted against the Communists, and believes—citing cases to prove the point—that in many instances such measures have actually made the members more hesitant to break with the party. For McCarthyism he has no use, but he remarks: "The Communists and their organizations obviously were the victims of a reaction that was sometimes disrespectful of the highest traditions of law and justice, but they were hardly innocent victims."

"At the moment," Shannon believes, "the Communist Party seems destined to join a collection of other sects as an exhibit in the museum of American Left Wing politics." He does not exclude the possibility that it might again, under other circumstances, show some recovery from its present estimated membership of three thousand. But he appears to regard an even further erosion as more probable.

Communist states don't seem to wither away, as Marx expected them to, but Communist parties sometimes do.

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Schools in Trouble

The Child, the Parent and the State, by James Bryant Conant. Harvard. 211 pp. $3.50.

The Future of Public Education, by Myron Lieberman. Chicago. 294 pp. $5.

Reviewed by

Lawrence A. Cremin

For the first time in our history, education may emerge as one of the central issues of the coming Presidential campaign. Certainly the public is ready for it. Desegregation has been in the headlines for almost a decade. The church-state problem has sharpened with rising parochial school enrollments, quite apart from the religious affiliation of any candidate. Taxpayer revolts across the country testify to the mounting financial pressures caused by bulging enrollments at every educational level. And a spate of books, magazine articles, and television programs has aired every conceivable ailment of the schools, real and imaginary. Philip Willkie, son of the late Presidential candidate, may have written a portentous letter last December when he advised 2600 state officials that Republicans "have an opportunity to lead the party and our nation to victory if they will assume leadership in developing policies of public education that will utilize our nation's mental resources."

In these two books Dr. Conant and Dr. Lieberman both address themselves to Willkie's point. Though their books may appear quite different at first glance, they are essentially similar in the political questions they raise: What is really wrong with American schools? What should be done about them? And most important, perhaps, who ought to do it? Both authors are convinced that reform is needed; but their diagnoses are as different as the cures they prescribe.

Dr. Conant is well known as a commentator on American education. His book, *The American High School Today*, was a best seller through much of 1959; and a television film dramatizing the recommendations of that volume is appearing widely under National Education Association auspices. *The Child, the Parent and the State* represents his effort to locate contemporary educational discussion

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within the context of our peculiar history as a nation, our unique political system, and the divided world in which we live. Conant is convinced that despite grave shortcomings in the schools we can develop the talents of all our youth without basic changes in the present structure of education, provided that state by state and locality by locality the people do their part. "The road to better schools will be paved by the collective action of the local citizenry in thousands of communities. The responsibility cannot be passed to the state legislatures or to Congress. The responsibility rests on every citizen of the land."

Now, this may be ancient lore in American education, but it is good to hear a man of Conant's wisdom state it so optimistically and well. For the schools have been subjected to massive pressures in recent years, and many a locality has taxed itself to the limit only to find that the children keep coming, crowding classrooms to capacity and overflowing into church basements, barns, abandoned railway cars, and surplus circus tents. The resultant variations in educational quality have been scandalous, as the vastly uneven achievements on the National Merit Scholarship Examinations have so amply demonstrated.

Conant, of course, is well aware of this, and warns that only a drastic overhaul of our state taxing machinery, or a vast program of federal assistance, can save the schools from steady deterioration. We shall probably have to double our educational expenditures during the next ten years, and no amount of tinkering with local property taxes can produce the requisite funds. A whole new financial structure will have to be designed if the schools are to meet the demands of the Sixties; and while local citizen interest cannot guarantee imaginative political action, it can be an important step toward generating it.

Dr. Lieberman is frankly skeptical of Conant's approach. An educationist long critical of his colleagues, he has little faith in Jeffersonian exhortation as a basis for educational reform. "The appeal to a diffuse citizenry to save our schools is futile," he writes, "not because the schools do not need saving but because most worthwhile educational reforms will have to be initiated and carried out by the teachers." His book, like its predecessor, *Education as a Profession,* is essentially a plea for an autonomous teaching profession with power to decide what should be taught in the schools. Non-professional determination of the curriculum, he argues, is as unthinkable as non-professional determination of the techniques of brain surgery.

The analogy is important, since much of Lieberman's book is an attempt to apply the successful political strategies of other professions—notably medicine—to teaching. "At the present time," he concludes, "public education presents a paradox: the work of teachers is dominated by political considerations, but the teachers themselves are political nonentities. The need is to transform teachers into political animals so that their work can be based on professional interest instead of political considerations. Without political power, teachers will never be able to protect the integrity of their work."

Analogizing to the doctors is common indoor sport among teachers, and there is a measure of truth to the analogy. But it breaks down at the crucial point of purpose. The public's mandate to the medical profession is clear: save and extend life. In most instances, no further discussion of purpose intrudes. When conflicts over

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purpose do arise, however, as in the case of abortion, euthanasia, or sterilization, the same political problems that bedevil the educators quickly descend on the physicians, as the English jurist, Glanville Williams, persuasively notes in his recent volume, *The Sanctity of Life and the Criminal Law*.

Heaven knows, we need better trained, better paid, better educated, and more courageous teachers; and continued professionalization is certainly one way to get them. But it is difficult to accept Lieberman's assumption that Americans are as agreed on the purposes of education as they are on the purposes of medicine. Given the classical relationship of education and politics, the argument over purpose will continue; and educators would do better to analogize to professions where political problems are daily insistent—for example, the foreign service—if they would be at all realistic about the conditions under which they work. Professionalization may shift the political balance in education, but it cannot meet the political problem. Experts who serve the public must ultimately be responsible to someone; and granted all the attendant difficulties, there is no better judge of the public interest in the long run than the public itself.

Fiction Notes

by Richard Schickel

IT HAS BEEN a dreary month in a dreary decade of fiction. Of the two dozen or so works sent me for consideration only the uncommonly small number of four survived the process of elimination I use in an attempt to make this job easier on my eyes and nerves. Upon finishing them, I discovered that none was worth more than the briefest mention. Here they are:

Herbert Gold's *Love and Like* (Dial) is a collection of sociological and psychological essays disguised as short stories. They are technically proficient, serious, and intelligent tales about the way we live now, but they lack those dimensions of insight, grace, and revelation which can cause a tiny story to reverberate in our consciousness as long as we live. They are labored, lumpy stories which are true as far as they go, but which don't go quite far enough—except in length.

Wilder Stone by John Leggett (Harper's) gives promise of being that rare thing—an American existential novel—but deteriorates into just another study of a man with A Problem, in this case a collection of truly depressing relatives. In the end this study of a forty-year-old real estate man's spiritual and workaday crisis is sentimental, slick, and unintelligent about a man and a situation it should be easy to be intelligent about.

The stories in Roald Dahl's *Kiss Kiss* (Knopf) are in his familiar vein—wryly humorous tales about fundamentally unfunny, creepy situations. I thought they seemed strained—often beyond the breaking point. One wishes this talented writer would break out of the rather arbitrary bonds he has set for himself and use his talents in a different mode entirely.

Irwin Shaw's *Two Weeks in Another Town* (Random House) is, like *Wilder Stone*, a study in the frustrations and defeats of a middle-aging American male. It is, quite simply, ladies' magazine fiction, and the only comment I can make about this writer is that it is sad to see the fine talent that wrought *The Girls in their Summer Dresses* and *Main Currents of American Thought* come to this.

But let me end these brief comments on a positive note. Meridian has just issued, in paperback form, *The Collected Stories of Isaac Babel*. A few years ago the hard-cover edition received glowing notices from reviewers, but little attention from the reading public. Now these excellent stories are, as they say, "within the reach of all," and anyone seriously interested in the fiction of our time should reach for this collection. The stories are artless, direct, simple statements of reality, beautifully understated and controlled. To my mind they represent the finest short fiction since Chekov.

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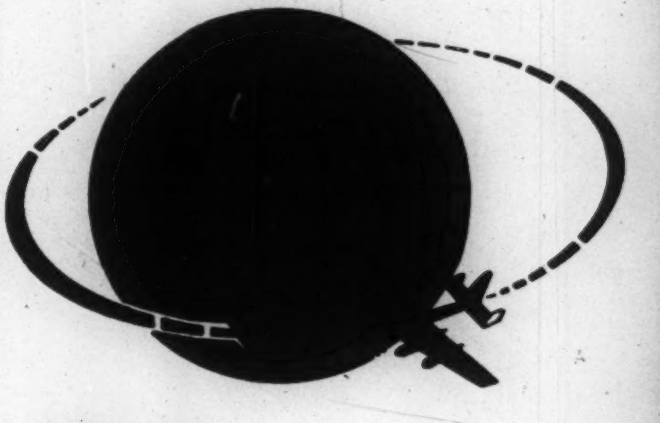

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